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A CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN MINIATURES
BY SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD, C.I.E., F.B.A., LITT.D.
REVISED AND EDITED BY J.V.S. WILKINSON





7. ALBUM OF JAHĀNGĪR
 14. THE SAINT SHĀH DAWLAT BY BICHTR



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ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS 1-18

WITH NINETEEN PLATES IN COLOUR
AND EIGHTY-FOUR IN MONOCHROME

VOLUME I

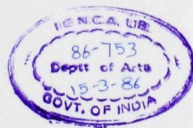
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TO MY DEAR WIFE
EDITH BEATTY

A. C. B.



FOREWORD

THE cataloguing of my collection of Indian miniatures was originally undertaken by the late Sir Thomas Arnold. After his greatly lamented death in June 1930, the work on the catalogue was held in abeyance. However, the collection has been added to recently and I have been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, who has revised and rewritten the portion which was practically finished, and also included the additions to the collection. The plates have been prepared by Messrs. Emery Walker Limited, and I feel sure that every one will appreciate the fine work they have done.

A. CHESTER BEATTY.

BARODA HOUSE,
24 KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS, W. 8.
August, 1935



P R E F A C E

THE manuscripts and miniatures which are the subject of this catalogue have all been acquired by Mr. Chester Beatty in recent years. They include some of the finest products of the Mughal Court painters from the sixteenth century onwards, together with many examples, some of unique interest, of the work of provincial schools, mostly, to a greater or less degree, connected with, or inspired by, Mughal Court art; and others which belong more obviously to 'Hindu' or 'Rajput' schools. This is, however, mainly a 'Mughal' catalogue.

While the arrangement is, generally speaking, chronological, it is not rigidly so, for several reasons. Indian miniature painting includes both book illustrations and the separate miniatures which it was the custom to keep together in albums, an album often containing examples of various styles and periods. It seemed advisable for cataloguing purposes to keep together sets of separate miniatures belonging obviously to definite collections, such as those from the Imperial albums. Another reason is that the collection was added to after the lettering of some of the plates had been finished.

The catalogue is chiefly the work of the late Sir Thomas Arnold, who also selected most of the plates. The research was mainly his, and the opinions expressed are his, while the historical introduction—a characteristic example of his treatment of the subject—was almost completed by him. The present editor has made some changes in the arrangement, but he has tried to carry Arnold's work to completion according to his ideas. It did not seem necessary to distinguish his own additions except in one or two instances. Precise allocation to local schools and attempts at exact dating in doubtful cases, especially with miniatures of the eighteenth century, have generally been avoided. Aesthetic criticism has been almost entirely omitted.

The main feature of the catalogue was all along intended to be the illustrations, which were to be of the highest possible quality. They speak for themselves, and it is to be hoped that their fidelity as facsimiles, which can be vouched for, will be appreciated by scholars. The staff of Messrs. Emery Walker, Ltd., and in particular Mr. Wilfred Merton, who has taken a close interest in their production, have given of their best. The editor is greatly indebted to Miss Joan Kingsford's constant help, and technical knowledge of miniature painting; and to the Oxford University Press for their skill and patience.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.



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INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

THE MUGHAL SCHOOL OF PAINTING

THE Mughal School of Painting exhibits characteristics so distinctive that it has very suitably received separate consideration from more than one historian of art, and though the literature on the subject has already attained considerable proportions¹ it has been deemed fitting to give here some account of the circumstances in which this painting developed, in view of the fact that the present collection contains some of its finest products.

The school of painters derives its name from the dynasty of Indian rulers under whose protection they worked, and it is only in connexion with their imperial patrons that we come to know anything of the personality of these artists. There is clear evidence that it was greatly influenced in its canons, to begin with, by the art of the famous painters who worked in Harāt under the Timurid princes of the fifteenth century, and particularly under the last of them, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā Bayqarā, who made Harāt his capital from 1468 to 1501. When the Emperor Babur established his rule in India in 1526, he continued, like his art-loving ancestors, to extend his patronage to painting, but the only work produced by the painters who worked for him now believed to exist is the MS. of the Persian version of his Memoirs, in the library of the Mahārāja of Alwar, if indeed these pictures are contemporary with the text and were not added at a later date,² since it often happens that blank spaces are left for pictures by the copyist of a MS. and they are only filled in by painters of a later period. Consequently the date of the completion of the copying of the text is no certain indication of the date of the illustrations.

But it seems almost impossible that among the numerous Muhammadan Sultans that ruled in India before the establishment of the Mughal Empire in 1526, there should have been none who took an interest in the art of painting, for since Quṭb ud-Dīn Aybak proclaimed himself sovereign of Hindustan at Delhi in 1206, there had been five successive dynasties ruling in that capital before the arrival of the Mughals, while other independent kingdoms had been established in Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat, and the Deccan. Each one of these kingdoms has left behind architectural remains of great magnificence, testifying to the wealth and enlightened patronage of the rulers, and among these Sultans there were several who in various ways showed themselves ready to disregard the authority of the orthodox theologians and the prohibitions they attempted to impose in the name of religion; but we have no historical information that any one of these Sultans flouted the religious law by employing painters to work for him in his court.

¹ The best general accounts will be found in Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters of the Great Moguls* (London, 1922); and in Mr. Percy Brown's more exhaustive *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Oxford, 1924). Among aesthetic and stylistic studies special mention must be made of M. Ivan Stchoukine's *La Peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929), a work in which the technical qualities of Mughal painting are systematically surveyed, and its position in relation to European, Persian, and indigenous traditions is considered. *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei*, by J. Strzygowski and others (Klagenfurt, 1933), applies a wealth of learning to the analysis of the Mughal school, its subjects and ingredients, and its racial and cultural

elements; while Dr. Hermann Goetz's *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmogulzeit* (Berlin, 1930) treats the miniatures as illustrations of the everyday life of India and as evidence of the character of contemporary civilization. The same author's *Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei* (Berlin, 1934) is a stylistic survey, treated historically, of great merit. J. V. S. W.

² The pictures in this MS. have not yet been made the subject of any careful study, and the only reproductions from it with which I am acquainted are the seven unsatisfactory ones that are shown, on a much reduced scale, in Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams's account of the career of Bābur—entitled *An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1917). The illustrations are clearly not contemporary.



Paintings there certainly were in the palaces of some of these princes, for Sultān Firūz Shah Taghlaq of Delhi (1351-88) himself records how he gave orders for the destruction of all pictures and portraits which had been painted on the doors or walls of his palaces, and 'under the divine guidance and favour even had all figured ornaments removed from such objects as saddles, bridles, and collars, from censers, goblets, and cups, from dishes and ewers, and even from tents, curtains, and chairs'.¹ Unfortunately no single example of the work of any Muhammadan painter in India before the Mughal period appears to have survived the numerous destructive agencies, human, animal, or climatic, that have worked such havoc among the products of artistic activity in this country.

On the other hand, the influence of an earlier tradition of Hindu painting is apparent in such examples of Mughal art as have survived to us, and when in the reign of Akbar we find recorded the names of the artists who worked for him, by far the greater part of them bear Hindu names. An attempt has been made to establish some link between the Mughal school and the Hindu painters of preceding generations, for we know from the numerous references to paintings in Sanskrit literature that this art formed an integral part in Hindu culture. In the Sanskrit plays there are references to picture galleries and to separate portraits,² and in one of them to fresco-painting on a wall.³ In the Kathāsaritsāgara, written in the latter part of the eleventh century, the king of a city on the Ganges is said to have had a picture gallery,⁴ and many of the stories in this collection turn on the incident of a prince falling in love with a beautiful picture.⁵ But few actual memorials survive whereby the student of Indian art can bridge the gulf between the frescoes of the Ajanta and Bāgh caves, painted at various dates from the beginning of the Christian era to the seventh century A.D., and the Mughal paintings that make their first appearance in the second half of the sixteenth century. That the tradition of Hindu painting certainly did survive is shown in the illustration of MSS. from the period of the Pāla dynasty (11th-12th century), in Nepalese MSS. with pictures of the twelfth century, and in paintings of the Gujarati school found in Jaina MSS. from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.⁶

Several references to mural paintings occur in the accounts of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century travellers.⁷ Domingo Paes, for instance, writing about 1501, saw certain images, 'painted like life', decorating the palace of the Rājā at Vijayanagar.⁸

We cannot judge how 'like life' these paintings really were, but the general character of pre-Mughal manuscript painting points to a gradual return to primitive forms. The tradition survived, but practice had deteriorated. The character of the manuscript illustrations sometimes suggests that they were copies of mural paintings, which must have perished with the destruction of the castles or palaces that they once adorned.⁹

It was from the combination of this tradition with the style of Persian painting, introduced into India by the descendants of Timūr, that the Mughal school of painting derived its origin.

The Emperor Bābur died in 1530, only four years after the battle of Panipat had placed him on the throne of Delhi. Whether he found an atelier of artists established in the palace of his predecessor, the last Sultan of the Afghan dynasty, or whether he himself ordered one to be formed, as his ancestors had done in Harāt and the other cities which

¹ Sir H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. III, p. 382.

² Virginia Saunders, 'Portrait painting as a dramatic device in Sanskrit Plays' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 39, pp. 299 sqq.).

³ N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 14 (Bombay, 1926).

⁴ *The Ocean of Story*, being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, edited by N. M. Penzer, Vol. IV, p. 205.

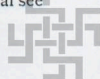
⁵ *id.*, Vol. IV, 131-207; VI, 90; VII, 139; X, 36.

⁶ H. Goetz, 'Die Malschulen des Mittelalters' (*Ost-asiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. III, pp. 173 sqq.); *id.* 'Studien zur Rajputen-Malerei, II' (*ib.* N.F. I, pp. 119 sqq.); N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, chapter II; Stechoukine, *op. cit.* (Part I. 1).

⁷ Stechoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4.

⁸ R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, p. 284 sqq. (London, 1900).

⁹ For the seventh-century frescoes of Sittanavāsāl see Mehta, *op. cit.*, chapter I.



they beautified, we do not know, but there is documentary evidence that Bābur took the same delight in the art of painting as had characterized the Timurid princes from whom he was descended. In his Memoirs he makes mention of such great artists as Bihzād and Shāh Muzaffar, and draws special attention to painting as forming part of the accomplishments of some of the distinguished persons whom he describes in his narrative. For instance, he tells us that Baysunqur Mirzā (*ob.* 1499),¹ a contemporary prince of the Timurid family who was himself for a short time ruler of Samarqand, was not only an excellent calligraphist but 'in painting also his hand was not bad'. Of another of his cousins, Ḥaydar Mirzā, the talented author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi* (1499–1551), Bābur wrote: 'He has a hand deft in everything, penmanship and painting, and in making arrows and arrow-barbs and string-grips; moreover he is a born poet.'² Bābur's interest in painting is only one aspect of his artistic nature, which revealed itself also in his intense delight in the beauty of natural scenery and in his love for gardens and flowers, as when in his Memoirs he counts up as many as thirty-two varieties of tulips on the hills near Kabul.³ The contemplation of such natural beauty was associated in his mind with its reproduction in art, and his delight in it could be so intense that even in a moment of grave personal danger he could note that in an orchard 'one young apple tree had turned an admirable autumn colour; on each branch were left five or six leaves in regular array; it was such that no painter trying to depict it could have equalled'.⁴

In spite of the perils of his adventurous life, he evidently regarded finely illuminated manuscripts as among his most precious possessions, to be preserved at all costs. When he had to flee before the invading army of Muḥammad Shaybānī, he carried off with him to Kabul manuscripts which had been adorned by some of the greatest painters of Harāt, and they still bear his seal and those of his successors, thus providing evidence of their appreciation of these fine works of art.⁵

Bābur's son and successor, Humāyūn, showed that he lacked the military genius necessary for holding the newly established kingdom together. Faced by hostile intrigues on the part of his brothers, by rebellions fomented by his nobles, and by mutiny in his own army, he made ineffectual efforts to cope with the many difficulties that surrounded him. A formidable antagonist arose in Bengal, in the person of an Afghan general, Shīr Khān, who, after inflicting upon him two successive defeats in 1539 and 1540, finally compelled him to flee for his life with the dispirited remnant of his army. From this time he became a homeless wanderer, first in the deserts of Rajputana and Sind, till later, in 1544, he abandoned hope of regaining his kingdom in India and took refuge with Shāh Ṭahmāsp in Persia.

Humāyūn spent about a year in Persia, and his visit may not have been without significance in the history of Muhammadan painting in India, for Shāh Ṭahmāsp (1524–76) was an enthusiastic patron of art, and some of the finest Persian paintings were produced at his court. He took lessons in painting from the great painter, Sulṭān Muḥammad, and is said by his biographer to have shown great enthusiasm and love for this art. He certainly had in his service some of the most famous painters Persia has ever produced, and it may well be assumed that, in view of his own personal interest in their art, he would not have refrained from exhibiting to his guest some examples of the work of the painters whom he so liberally encouraged. For Humāyūn spent much of his time in Persia in sight-seeing, and his sister records that 'in Khurāsān His Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sulṭān Husayn Mirzā, and the grand structures of olden days'. The Shāh made special arrangements for his guest to see the ruins of Persepolis and 'in various ways showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things'.⁶

¹ *Bābur-nāma*, translated by H. Beveridge (London, 1922), p. 111.

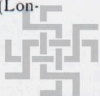
² *id.*, p. 22.

³ *id.*, p. 215.

⁴ *id.*, p. 418.

⁵ Blochet (*Monuments Piot*, XXIII), pp. 176 and 195.

⁶ *The History of Humayun (Humāyūn-nāmah)*, by Gul-badan Begam. Trans. by A. S. Beveridge (London, 1902), pp. 169, 174.



But whatever artistic interests may have been excited in Humāyūn's mind, during his sojourn in Persia, by his contact with the great painters of Ṭahmāsp's court, he had little opportunity of using his royal patronage for the encouragement of artists, for only a few months after he had recovered the throne of Delhi he died in consequence of an accidental fall down the steep steps leading to the library in his palace.

One great monument of his interest in painting has survived in the illustrations of the Romance of Amīr Ḥamzah,¹ the greater part of which is preserved in Vienna, while twenty-five pages are in the Indian Museum, South Kensington, four are in the British Museum, and two are included in the present collection.² Several artists must have collaborated in this vast undertaking, which was planned to consist of twelve volumes of one hundred folios each, with a picture on each folio. The unusual size of the page (22 in. × 28½ in.) necessarily implied a large method of treatment and presentation, differing considerably from the minute and delicate work of Bihzād and the painters of his school. It is probable that one may here recognize something of the character of the frescoes with which the palaces of the Persian monarchs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were decorated. One of the artists engaged upon this work was a native of Tabriz, named Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who also attained some reputation as a poet, but how far that was due to his own poetic merit it is difficult to say, for he was accused of having published the work of others in his own name.³ He had learnt the art of painting from his father, Mīr Maṣṣūr, in his native city, and appears to have attracted the notice of Humāyūn, who took him under his patronage and showed his appreciation of the painter's talent by conferring on him the title of Nādir al-mulk ('The Marvel of the Realm'). As many as fifty painters are said to have worked at the illustrations of the Romance of Amīr Ḥamzah under the superintendence of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.⁴ His place was afterwards taken—possibly after his death—by another Persian painter, 'Abd al-Ṣamad, a native of Shīrāz and son of one of the ministers of Shāh Shujā', governor of that city. It is interesting to note that a member of so high-placed a family could take up the profession of painting, and this is an indication of the respect in which, at this period at least, the profession was regarded; as will be seen later, painters themselves could also attain high position among the officers of the state, quite apart from the proficiency they might exhibit in their art. Humāyūn had made the acquaintance of 'Abd al-Ṣamad in Tabriz, during his exile in Persia, and he invited the painter to enter his service; but it was not until the fortunes of Humāyūn had begun to recover and he had established himself in Kabul that 'Abd al-Ṣamad accepted this invitation, in the year 1549.⁵ It is unlikely that the illustrations for this immense work were completed during the lifetime of Humāyūn, since it is expressly stated that it was Akbar who had illustrations made for the story of Amīr Ḥamzah, as he was particularly fond of it, and used himself to recite the stories contained therein to the ladies of his palace.⁶ The great undertaking, therefore, projected by Humāyūn was probably completed under the patronage of his more illustrious son, and it was during the reign of Akbar that 'Abd al-Ṣamad gained so much influence at court that about the year 1577 he was appointed Master of the Mint in the capital, Faṭḥpur Sikrī, with general control over that department; and to 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who was also an expert calligraphist, is doubtless due the credit for the artistic excellence of Akbar's coinage. Nine years later, Akbar appointed him his Diwān, or Revenue Commissioner, in the important city of Multān.

As a boy Akbar is said to have studied the elements of drawing under the tuition of 'Abd al-Ṣamad, and his art master appears to have exercised a more profound influence upon his royal pupil than any other of his teachers, if the common report is true that none

¹ An elaborate study of this work has been published in *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzai-Romanes*, hrsg. von H. Glück, 1925.

² There are numerous pages, also, in American collections.

³ *The Ain i Akbari of Abul Fazl 'Allāmī*, translated

by H. Blochmann, Pt. I, pp. 590, 598.

⁴ *The Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, trans. by H. Beveridge, p. 454.

⁵ Blochmann, op. cit., I, p. 495.

⁶ *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, loc. cit.



of them succeeded in persuading him to learn to read or write.¹ That Akbar should have been the only member of so cultivated a family to remain illiterate seems hardly credible, and it is possible that his admiring biographer, Abu'l-Fazl, has been guilty of exaggeration in his account of his master's relation to the ordinary sources of human knowledge, as it was his desire to represent Akbar's enlightened understanding to be 'the gift of God in which human effort had had no part'; so he asks, 'For him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for instruction by creatures, or for application to lessons? What concern has the nursling of Heaven with such didactics?'² Similarly, his son, Jahāngīr, in declaring Akbar to have been illiterate, uses the word *ummi*³—the very word used of Muḥammad in the Qur'an (VII, 156, 158) and in all Muslim theological literature during successive generations. Accordingly, what might at first have appeared to be a defect in Akbar's education and culture, is thus made to constitute a claim to superiority, as indicating a status superior to that of ordinary mortals. That Akbar was not incapable of using a pen is indicated by the fact that on the title-page of a manuscript of the *Zafar-nāmah*, or Life of Timūr, by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī (a work which the Emperor valued very highly) the word 'Farwardīn' was written by him, in childish and unformed characters; below it is a note, written and signed by his son Jahāngīr, testifying to the authenticity of the inscription.⁴ Further, Abu'l-Fazl records that the Emperor used to mark with his own pen the passage at which any of his readers left off on any particular occasion.⁵

But there is no doubt that Akbar depended for his knowledge of literature on the scholars who read books aloud to him, and that none of his instructors in the arts of reading and writing succeeded in inspiring in him such an interest in these accomplishments as he so markedly exhibited in painting.

Of Akbar's first foundation of the royal atelier there is no record whatsoever, and it hardly seems possible that he could have devoted much attention to such a matter during the early part of his reign, seeing that when he succeeded his father in 1556 he possessed no definite territory whatever, and five years were spent in almost continual fighting before he could establish his dominion over Hindustan. But when his great minister and panegyrist, Abu'l-Fazl, in his *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* described the administration of the kingdom and his master's personal interests and characteristics, between the years 1596 and 1601, when Akbar had already been on the throne for forty years, the account that he gives of the painters who worked for the Emperor shows that there was an elaborately organized and well-equipped establishment. In many respects such an establishment must have followed the same lines as those formerly existing in the capital cities of the Sultans of Harāt or the Safawid Shāhs, but there is no evidence that any of these previous royal patrons had been influenced by the same profound attachment towards the art of painting as Akbar undoubtedly felt. As Abu'l-Fazl informs us, he had shown a great predilection for this art from his earliest youth, and looked upon it as a means both of study and amusement. 'One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: "There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike." It seems to me that a painter has quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality on his work, and thus is forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.'⁶

How far removed this sentiment is from the common judgement of the Muhammadan world is obvious to any one who compares it with the accepted doctrine of the theologians

¹ Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar* (Oxford, 1917), p. 22; Anthony Monserrate, 'Mongolicae Legationis commentarius', ed. Hosten, S. J. (1914), p. 643 ('est enim legendi scribendique prorsus ignarus').

² Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar-nāmah*, trans. by H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 589.

³ *Tizuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), pp. 14, 589, trans. A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 33.

⁴ T. W. Arnold, *Bihzād and his Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS.* (London, 1930).

⁵ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, trans. H. B. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 103.

⁶ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 108.

of Islam, and Akbar's predilection undoubtedly exercised an influence on the character of painting during his reign.

Of the organization of this great body of painters who worked under the patronage of the Emperor we have no information whatsoever. We do not know whether they followed the movements of the court or always remained in one place. There was certainly an atelier established at one time in Fathpur Sikri, for the colophon of the copy of Sa'di's *Gulistan* in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, on every page of which is a number of little birds painted by Manohar, contains the interesting note that the copyist, Muhammad Husayn Kashmīri, completed his work in Fathpur in A. H. 990 (A. D. 1582). This must have been the atelier referred to by Father Anthony Monserrate, who visited Fathpur Sikri between 1580 and 1582; he tells us that Akbar had built an atelier ('atrium') near his palace, for the work-rooms of the more honourable arts, such as painting, gold-work, weaving, and the manufacture of arms.¹ But Akbar only resided in this city for sixteen years—from the year of Jahāngīr's birth in 1569 until 1585—when he transferred his capital to Lahore and continued to live in the Panjab for the next thirteen years. The court was also at times established either in Ajmer or Srinagar, in Kashmīr, to which distant Himalayan valley Akbar paid as many as three visits. Whether on such occasions the whole establishment of the court painters followed their sovereign we are not informed, but the accounts that we have of the immense and elaborately organized imperial camp that was set up during these frequent progresses which Akbar used to make through his dominions suggest that this part of the imperial staff went along with the rest. For though it seems impossible that the artists could have been moved about from place to place in order to keep up with the Emperor's rapid movements and enormous journeys, yet, on the other hand, seeing that Akbar took so keen an interest in the work of his painters, it is unlikely that he would have intermitted this interest for long periods of many months at a time, and historical evidence suggests that he made some of his painters accompany him on his campaigns. For the list of the officers who rode with Akbar on his forced march in the hot weather of 1573 from Fathpur Sikri through the deserts of Rajputana to Aḥmadābād contains the names of Jagannāth, Sanwal Dās, and Tārā Chand. If these persons are the same as the painters of the same names, examples of whose work have survived to us, the ordeal to which the court painters of Akbar might be exposed in following their impetuous master must have sometimes been a severe one; for on this occasion he covered nearly 600 miles in less than eleven days, riding so fast that some of his followers had not the strength to keep up with him, since this hurried journey allowed little respite for sleep or rest upon the way.²

From what we know of the circumstances under which painters worked in other Muhammadan courts some conception may be formed of the composition of the atelier of Akbar's painters. The warrant of appointment in which the Safawid Shah of Persia, Shah Ismā'il, in 1522 appointed Bihzād director of the royal library shows that the department in which the painters worked was attached to the library, and this was necessarily so, seeing that the greater part of their work consisted in painting illustrations for MSS.; we have evidence from other sources also that the copyists of MSS. worked in the same establishment as the painters. By this warrant authority was given to Bihzād over 'the copyists and painters and gilders and margin-drawers and gold-mixers and gold-beaters'. But this list does not exhaust all the classes of workers required. There must also have been grinders of colours, unless, indeed, the painters had to grind up their colours themselves; but they certainly could not have brought these with them, for the materials in many cases were costly, and the lapis lazuli which they used for their brilliant blues must have been almost as expensive as the gold which they employed with equal profusion. It was probable, too, that the costly, highly-polished paper used for these royal MSS. was made in the same establishment.

¹ Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S. J., 'Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius', edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, III, p. 643.

² *Akbār-nāmah*, trans. H. Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 62-9.

To the personal interest taken by the sovereign in his artists were doubtless due the improvements made in this department during his reign. His biographer tells us that a careful inquiry was made into the ingredients required by the painters, and the mixing of colours was immensely improved and they consequently attained a brilliancy previously unknown.¹ A comparison of the various MSS. prepared for Akbar's library certainly reveals a rapid softening of the early crudity, a far greater purity and smoothness of colouring in the later examples, and the success of these careful inquiries into the materials used is strikingly exemplified in the beautiful colouring of the illustrations of the Akbar-nāmah in the present collection.

The painters were salaried servants of the state and received their pay monthly, and the work of each one of them is said to have been submitted to Akbar every week by the superintendent and clerks, and Akbar then conferred rewards according to the excellence of the workmanship, or increased the monthly salaries.²

The art of painting as it reveals itself in the work of Akbar's court painters is clearly of an eclectic character, but exactly how much it owes to Hindu influences and how much to Persian is a controversial question, upon which opinion is not yet united.³ Certain characteristics were without doubt introduced into India by the Mughals from the art of their Timurid ancestors, e.g. the use of gold painting for border decorations. These were undoubtedly first employed for the embellishment of manuscripts de luxe, especially copies of the Qur'an, and the practice was afterwards extended to other texts of a pious and serious character. But their use as an added decoration to coloured pictures was much later, and then we find them surrounding not only the illustrations of MSS. but also such separate pictures as were either kept apart or bound in albums. These borders are filled either with purely decorative designs or with figures of animals, natural or mythological. Sometimes they take on a very elaborate character and contain a scheme of landscape worked out so as to form a distinct picture by itself, interspersed with hunting scenes or different figures in great variety. For the most part the border decorations bear no relation whatsoever to the subject of the picture they enclose, but there is a small group of large-size portraits in which the borders include little figures of a type corresponding to that of the central figure; e.g. soldiers accompany a portrait of a distinguished general, dervishes the figure of a saint, &c.

Some solution as to the respective parts contributed to Mughal painting by Hindu and Persian influences might be expected from a consideration of the nationality of the painters who produced them. We have data in the names of more than a hundred painters who are known to have worked for the Emperor Akbar and his immediate successors, but the problem is beset with many difficulties. The fact that the majority of the names are those of Hindus, a number of whom, incidentally, came from Western and Northern India, might at first sight suggest the conclusion that Hindu influences would be paramount, but it is difficult to discriminate in these pictures which characteristics are Hindu and which are not. Nor has much success been achieved in attempts made to signalize the features by which the work of any one of Akbar's painters may be distinguished from that of another. It would appear that the director of the atelier so impressed his own personality upon the body of painters working under his direction and set them such definite models to copy that very little opportunity for the exhibition of individuality was

contribution of Europe, as M. Stechoukine shows, was much more considerable than has been commonly recognized. See also Sir E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), chapter xv, where the historical aspect is fully considered, and many interesting details are given of the deep interest which European pictures aroused at Akbar's court. Pictures and engravings were carefully copied, and Indian technique for more than a hundred years was greatly, if not radically, modified in consequence. J. V. S. W.

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (text), p. 116 (trans. Blochmann), I, p. 107.

² Op. cit., id.

³ Since this Introduction was written considerable attention has been paid to the question of influences (see references on p. ix, note 1; also Dr. Hermann Goetz in 'Die Malschulen des Mittelalters und die Anfänge der Moghul-Malerei in Indien' (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F. III, pp. 173 sqq., 1926). Other references are given by Sir E. Maclagan (see below). The



left to them. The work of Farrukh Beg does indeed appear to have been distinctive, but among the large number of these painters his case is exceptional.

Further, the mere fact that a painter bears a Muhammadan name does not rule out the possibility of his having been a convert of Hindu stock, and it would, therefore, be natural to find in his work just the same distinctive features as appear in the work of his fellow artists, whose names clearly mark them out as being Hindus. Wherever these Hindus came from and whatever may have been the artistic tradition in the midst of which they first grew up, there can be no doubt that they exhibited a remarkable adaptability and a facility for taking on new methods, and they appear to have readily adopted the formulas of the Persian manner which had doubtless been introduced into India by Humāyūn after his return from his exile in Persia. We do not know with certainty who was the superintendent of Akbar's department of painting, but 'Abd al-Šamad had given lessons to Akbar himself when he was a boy, and both 'Abd al-Šamad and Mir Sayyid 'Alī (to whom Abu'l-Fazl assigns the two first places in the list of court painters) had been in the service of Humāyūn, and when Akbar succeeded his father these two artists were probably in authority in the imperial atelier. Now 'Abd al-Šamad was a native of Shirāz and Mir Sayyid 'Alī came from Tabriz; it was natural, therefore, that they should throw in the weight of their influence on the side of Persian methods and style, and the extraordinary similarity of style that runs through such a long series of pictures as the illustrations of the Akbar-nāmā described in this volume, or the MS. of the same work in the Victoria and Albert Museum, suggests that some powerful personality had impressed upon the painters the stamp of his own genius and had moulded his numerous assistants in accordance with his own personal views. But to the tasks they were called upon to perform the Hindus brought their indigenous contribution, and it is on this account that Indian Mughal painting is so characteristically different from Persian, and Abu'l-Fazl makes special mention of the Hindu court painters as distinguished above the rest for their artistic achievements.¹

As is well known, Muhammadan historians and biographers give very little room on their pages to the record of the lives of painters, and though Abu'l-Fazl tells us that more than one hundred of Akbar's court painters rose to become famous masters in their art, while many others approached perfection or at least attained a moderate degree of success, he condescends to give details concerning only four among them, and such information as he provides is disappointingly meagre, and as for the rest he gives the bare names of only thirteen.²

Some reference has already been made to Mir Sayyid 'Alī.³ His name implies that he claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet and thus belonged to the aristocracy of the Muslim world; he passed from the service of Humāyūn to that of his son, and Abu'l-Fazl, after the manner of the biographers of such royal patrons, attributes the merits of the artist to the monarch he served, and tells us that Mir Sayyid 'Alī 'attained, under the care of His Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting'.⁴ But no single picture in any Indian MS. has hitherto been recognized as having been painted by him, and though it is tempting to attribute to him the picture of Majnūn⁵ brought to the tent of Laylā in the Khamsah of Nizāmī, illustrated for Shāh Ṭahmāsp between 1539 and 1543 (British Museum, OR. 2265), grave doubts have been thrown upon this attribution.⁶

Of 'Abd al-Šamad's work we have some examples, and several paintings⁷ attributed to

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 107.

² *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 107-8.

³ See above, p. xii.

⁴ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 590.

⁵ Reproduced in Laurence Binyon, *The Poems of Nizāmī* (London, 1928), Plate XII; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London, 1912), Vol. II, Plate 139, &c.

⁶ E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux*

de la Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 188 (Paris, 1914-20); id., 'Les Peintures des manuscrits persans de la Collection Marteau', p. 163 (*Monuments Piot*, T. XXXIII, Paris, 1918-19).

⁷ For references to these, and to five examples now in Persia, see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 120-1.



him are to be found in this country. In his case, too, Abu'l-Fazl assigns the merit of his fine achievement to his royal patron: 'Though he had learnt the art before he had entered (Akbar's) service, yet it is through the magical influence of the regard of His Majesty that he has attained the high stage that he has reached and his (pictorial delineation of) outward form has assumed an ideal character.'¹

Mention has already been made of the high offices to which he was advanced by the indulgent Emperor, and such advancement is significant of the high estimation in which Akbar could hold a painter; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the common opinion of the nobles of the court was in agreement with the Emperor in such a matter, for 'Abd al-Ṣamad's son, Muḥammad Sharif, though he had been an intimate friend of Prince Salim and was advanced to high honour by him after he had ascended the throne as the Emperor Jahāngir,² was exposed to insult by having his father's former profession thrown in his teeth, and was treated as an upstart accordingly. One of the nobles from whose contemptuous opinion he thus suffered was Khān-i-A'zam Mirzā 'Aziz, whose mother had been Akbar's wet-nurse. An attempt was made to effect a reconciliation between them, and the Khān-i-A'zam was advised to invite Muḥammad Sharif to his house; he fell in with the proposal and gave a dinner to him along with a number of other nobles. But at the banquet he took occasion to say to him: 'Nawāb, you do not seem to be my friend, though your father, 'Abd al-Ṣamad, the Mullā, was much attached to me; he was the man who painted the very walls of the room we sit in.' The other nobles were so outraged by the insult that Mahābat Khān, the most eminent among them, and Khān Jahān Lodī, one of Jahāngir's foremost generals, got up and indignantly left the room. The story is significant as showing that, despite the favour that Akbar had lavished upon his painters, this patronage had not succeeded in delivering their profession from the contempt with which it was commonly regarded.

Abu'l-Fazl singles out only two other painters for special notice, both of them Hindus. The first of these, Daswanth, appears from the language of the Ā'in-i-Akbarī³ to have entered the imperial atelier when quite young, and to have exhibited his enthusiasm for his art by making sketches and paintings on the walls. 'One day the far-seeing glance of the Emperor fell upon him, and with his penetrating vision recognizing that here was a master in the art, he entrusted him to the care of 'Abd al-Ṣamad.'⁴ In a short time he rose to the height of his profession, but later his intellect became clouded by madness and he committed suicide. The commonly accepted reading of the MSS. of the Ā'in-i-Akbarī states that he left behind him memorials of his splendid workmanship, but one MS. states, on the contrary, that no examples of his work survive. This discrepancy suggests at least that Daswanth's pictures were rare, and as a matter of fact the only MS. in the illustration of which Daswanth is known to have taken part is the Razm-nāmah at Jaipur, with the exception of one picture in the Ta'rikh-i-Khāndān-i-Timūriyyah (in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore), for which he made the sketch only, the rest of the work being completed by another painter. Neither in Europe nor America is any of his work known to exist.

For an estimate of the merits of the second Hindu painter, Basāwan, we have more abundant material. Abu'l-Fazl states that some critics preferred his work to that of Daswanth, and that he was unsurpassed in making the original sketch of a picture (*ṭarrāḥī*), painting faces (*chihrah-kushā'i*), blending colours (*rang-āmīzi*), and taking likenesses (*mā-nandūgārī*). The first three of these technical terms occur frequently in the inscriptions

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (text), p. 117, l. 7. I have adopted a somewhat different translation to that of Blochmann.

² He mentions him several times in his *Memoirs* and on one occasion (Vol. I, p. 14) writes: 'I look upon him as a brother, a son, a friend, and a companion. As I had perfect confidence in his friendship, intelligence, learning, and acquaintance with affairs, having

made him Grand Vizier, I promoted him to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the lofty title of Amir al-Umarā', to which no title of my servants is superior.'

³ *Dar khidmat-i-in kār-khānah basar burdī*, ed. H. Blochmann, p. 117, ll. 8-9.

⁴ Loc. cit.

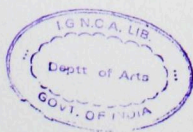
written below the illustrations of the MSS. prepared for Akbar's library, and from them it is clear that the task of painting a picture was often distributed among a number of separate painters, one of whom sketched an outline of the picture (examples of sketches for such unfinished pictures are still extant in some MSS., generally set out in delicate lines of red); another added the various colours; this process is sometimes described as *rang-āmisī*, but more commonly as '*amal*' (work)—a word that is also used of the whole process, especially when the making of a picture was entrusted to a single artist; in some cases, too, the task of adding the features was left to a different painter, and in one instance (no. 114 in the Akbar-nāmah, Victoria and Albert Museum) the number of faces painted in this manner by a separate hand is particularly mentioned, viz. Miskin made the sketch, Sarwan painted in the colours, and Mādhū added eight of the faces (out of a total of forty-six).¹

In any one MS. the similarity of the handwriting suggests that all the entries of the names of artists have been made by one and the same person, probably the superintendent or director of the atelier, and it may be conjectured that the purpose of the entry was to serve as a basis for suitable remuneration, as it was the custom for the *dārōghahs* (or superintendents) and clerks to submit the work of each painter to the Emperor every week, and he would grant rewards according to merit or increase the amount of the monthly salary. It may, therefore, well be imagined that the painters concerned would be solicitous that the proper entries should be made, especially as the weekly inspection by His Majesty must have been frequently postponed by his numerous military expeditions and the demands of other business of state. More difficult to explain is the entire absence of any such entries, as in the case of the MS. of the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* in the School of Oriental Studies and some others.

Though Abu'l-Fazl tells us that more than a hundred of these painters attained widespread fame as masters in their art, while there were many others who ran them close or possessed merely middling attainments, he gives the name of only thirteen, in addition to the four mentioned above, on the ground that it would take him too long to describe the excellences of each, and that his intention was only 'to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf'. Of the work of these painters—Kesū, Lāl, Mukund, Miskin, Farrukh, Mādhū, Jagan, Mahesh, Khēm Karan, Tārā, Sānwalah, Haribans, and Rām—examples enough are extant in various MSS. to make it possible to form a judgement of their competency. But from the present collection, catalogued in this volume, it is possible to supplement this list considerably, as follows: Abu'l-Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Anant, 'Aṣī, Bāl Chand, Bākīr (?), Bandī, Banwārī (the elder and the younger), Bhagwān, Bhīm, Bhūra, Bishan Dās, Dawlat, Dhan Rāj, Dhannū, Dharm Dās, Govardhan, Ibrāhīm, 'Ināyat, Kamālī Jibillah, Kānhā, Khēm (the younger), Makrā, Manohar, Manī, Nānā, Nand, Nar Singh, Pāk, Paras, Padārath, Shankar, Sheo Dās, Shyām, Sūr Dās, Surjan, Mīr Taqī, Thirpāl, Tiriyyā, and Tulsi. From other MSS., once in the library of Akbar, it is possible to add still more names to this list, e.g. 'Alī ibn Mukhlīṣ, Anis, Bābū Naqqāsh, Banwālī, Bhawānī, Bihzād, Chhatarman, Chhatarbhuṣ, Chhatrā, Dev Jīu, Durgah, Gangā Singh, Gawhar Dās, Ghulām 'Alī, Haydar Kashmirī, Husayn Naqqāsh, Ikhlas, 'Imād, Iqbāl, Iṣhar, Ismā'il Kashmirī, Jagiwan, Jaswant, Kamāl Kashmirī, Kanak Singh, Khēman Sangtarāsh, Khizir, Lūhankā, Māh-i-Muḥammad, Maṇṣūr, Mathurā, Mādhō, Muḥammad Kashmirī, Muḥammad Sharif, Mohan, Mukhlīṣ, Narāyan, Param Jīu, Qabul Chand, Raḥmān, Rizā, Sāhū, Salim, Salmān, Sarwan, Shāh Muḥammad, and Ya'qub Kashmirī. The total of these names amounts to 104, and if we add to this number the seven instances in which there is a younger as well as an elder person bearing the same name, we have a record of as many as 111 names of Akbar's court painters. This is the lowest estimate, for variants such as Kesū, Kesū Dās, Kesū Gujarātī, Kesū Kāhār, Kesū Kalān, and Kesū Khurd, have only been

¹ The account of this picture given by Vincent A. Smith (*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*,

p. 462) is inaccurate, as only three, not four, painters collaborated in the painting of it.



counted as two, whereas quite possibly three, or even four, separate persons may have been thus indicated; again, Ibrāhīm Naqqāsh, Ibrāhīm Kahār, and Ibrāhīm Lāhorī have been counted only as one, though possibly these are names for three different persons.¹

It is a fact deserving of special notice that the majority of these painters were Hindus, and that less than one-fourth of them were Muhammadans. But even within this latter group (as has already been suggested) some may have been converts or descendants from converted Hindus, and may thus have belonged to families that had carried on the traditions of Hindu art, handed down from a period anterior to the Muhammadan conquest. The fact that Ibrāhīm Kahār still retained in his personal name the designation of the caste to which he belonged betrays his Hindu origin, and the five Kashmiris (viz. Ḥaydar, Ismā'il, Kamāl, Muḥammad, and Ya'qub) were probably all of Hindu origin, as the number of Muslim immigrants into this country was insignificant before, in the thirty-first year of his reign, Akbar's troops conquered Kashmir in 1586. How many others among his court painters bearing Muhammadan names may have been of Hindu origin, and may thus have commenced their art training under Hindu influences, it is impossible to say, but the distinctive character of Mughal art can thus be partly explained when it is recognized how many among the artists concerned were natives of the country itself, and the Persian painters who accompanied Humāyūn into India or were afterwards attracted by the fame of Akbar's generous patronage must have found that their Hindu colleagues or assistants were in possession of artistic traditions, methods of presentation, and colour schemes that refused to give way to imported influences.

Akbar's painters appear to have been mainly occupied in illustrating the works of literature which their imperial master delighted to have read to him. Among these was the history of the house of Timūr, from which he himself was descended, and of the dynasty of Chingiz Khān, with which Timūr claimed relationship. Akbar's fondness for romance has already been referred to, and besides the Amīr Ḥamzah he took pleasure in listening to story books, such as that of Kalilah and Dimnah. His desire to study the religion and mythology of the Hindus caused him to have translated into Persian the great Sanskrit epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa; Akbar's own copy of the first of these two, the execution of which is said to have cost £40,000, is still preserved in Jaipur and contains 169 pictures.² Colonel H. B. Hanna claimed to possess Akbar's copy of the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa, with 129 full-page illustrations, signed by the artists,³ but since his collection has been transferred to America no serious study appears to have been devoted to it. Fortunately some of the books once in Akbar's possession, and illustrated by his artists, have survived to the present day. Besides the Razm-nāmah, the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata, in Jaipur, already mentioned, are the superb Akbar-nāmah and other MSS. described in the present catalogue; in the British Museum, the Bābur-nāmah (Or. 3714), the Dārāb-nāmah (Or. 4615), the Khamsah of Nizāmī (Or. 2265), Jāmī's Nafahāt al-Uns (Or. 1362), and the Anwār-i-Suhaylī (add. 18579) in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Akbar-nāmah and Wāq'at-i-Bāburī; in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Bahārīstān of Jāmī (Elliott 254); in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Gulistān of Sa'dī (No. 258); in the Public Library, Bankipore, the Ta'rīkh-i-Khāndan-i-Timūriyyah; in private collections, the Khamsah of Nizāmī, belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins, the Diwān of Jāmī, illustrated by Ḥusayn Naqqāsh, belonging to Mme. de Béhague, and two leaves from a copy of Rashid al-Din's Jāmī'al-Tawārīkh in the collection of M. Pozzi. All these MSS. contain signatures giving the names of the painters, though on many pages they are lacking, having been cut off by the binder. Besides these illustrated MSS. there are a few signed pictures on separate pieces of paper, bearing the names of one or other of Akbar's painters, e.g. in the Royal Library, Windsor; in the British Museum; in the India

¹ See Appendix.

² See T. H. Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeyapore Exhibition*, 1883, Vol. IV.

³ *Catalogue of Indo-Persian pictures and manuscripts*, collected by Col. H. B. Hanna, p. 27 (London, 1890).

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Office Library; in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in some private collections. Further, there are other examples of the work of Akbar's painters which entirely lack any signatures, e.g. the pages of the *Ḥamzah-nāmah* (or from two separate copies of this work) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum, the Industrial Museum, Vienna, and other collections; the *ʿIyār-i-Dānish* (No. 1403) in the India Office Library; the *Wāqīʿat-i-Baburi* (Elliott 19) in the Bodleian Library; and the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* in the School of Oriental Studies. These are but a few of the MSS. illustrated for Akbar's own use in the imperial library, which, according to the Spanish priest, Fra Sebastian Manrique, who visited Agra in 1641 in the reign of Akbar's grandson, contained as many as 24,000 volumes, and was estimated by the same authority to be worth the enormous sum of £720,000.¹

But no part of the immense album of portraits of himself and of all the *grandees* of his kingdom, which Akbar caused to be made,² appears to have survived. The practice of having such portraits painted was traditional in the house of *Timūr*, and Akbar was no innovator in thus following the custom of his ancestors; but so far as the art of painting in India itself is concerned, that great series of historical portraits, which forms so valuable an adjunct to the chronicles of the Mughal dynasty, owes its inception to this enlightened patron of art, and *Abu'l-Fazl* was guilty of no exaggeration when he wrote of them, 'Those that have passed away, have received a new life, and those who are still alive, have immortality promised them.'³

To a special class belong the Christian pictures which Akbar collected. When the Jesuit missionaries reached *Fathpur Sikrī* in 1580 they were told that Akbar had in his dining-room pictures of Christ, Mary, Moses, and *Muḥammad*; ⁴ and the Jesuit narrations tell us much about the great interest which the Christian pictures they were able to show to Akbar excited in this Emperor. They say that he regarded them with profound veneration, and when he visited the oratory of the fathers he showed especial reverence towards the pictures of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and ordered his own painters to make copies of those which the fathers had placed in their chapel.⁵

Even after the Jesuits, in 1583, had left the Mughal court, realizing the ill-success of their mission, Akbar determined in 1590 to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption after his own fashion. 'He caused a high throne to be erected, upon which he placed a picture of the Blessed Virgin which Father Rudolfo had given him, commanding all his princes, captains, and courtiers to do it reverence and to kiss it. The chief lords of the court demanded that the eldest son of the King should first set them the example, and this he at once and very willingly did. The most distinguished of the officers showed themselves the readiest to honour the Virgin.'⁶

There is a permanent memorial of the interest which Akbar took in the pictures brought by the Christian missionaries to his court in the fresco which still remains on the walls of one of his palaces in *Fathpur-Sikrī*, in the so-called house of *Miriam*, the residence of one of his Hindu queens, the daughter of *Rājā Bihārī Mall*, the chief of *Amber*, or, as it is now called, *Jaipur*, in *Rajputana*. This lady was the mother of the future Emperor *Jahāngir*, and she received as her posthumous official title *Maryam-zamānī*, that is, the Mary of the Age. The fresco, which was executed about 1570, or a little later, represents a winged figure seated on a chair with a high back, and wearing a long flowing robe caught up over the left arm, which rests upon the breast hidden by a blue tippet. Opposite is an angel, the outline only of whose face and wings are now traceable. There seems good reason for accepting the local tradition which declares this fresco to be a representation of the *Annunciation*, and, if this surmise is correct, the fact that the artist

¹ Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India*, p. 456.

² *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

³ *id.*, p. 109.

⁴ Anthony Monserrate, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

⁵ *Akbar and the Jesuits: an Account of the Jesuit*

Mission to the Court of Akbar, by Father Pierre du Jarrie, S. J., trans. by C. H. Payne, p. 26. Sir E. D. MacLagan, in chapter xv of *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), treats of this subject in detail.

⁶ *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 44.

has represented the Virgin with wings must be regarded as an addition created out of his individual fantasy.¹

How Akbar, in the midst of his multifarious occupations and his many interests, could possibly have given such personal attention to the work of his painters as his devoted biographer tells us he did, it is difficult to understand. As the present volume contains illustrations of many of the most important incidents in his career, some account of the life of this remarkable man may fittingly be given here, to facilitate the understanding of the pictures in the volume of the Akbar-nāmah, which forms part of the present collection.

Akbar was born in 1542 when his father was a fugitive in the deserts of Sind. While Humāyūn made his way into Persia, in order to implore the assistance of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, his infant son was sent to Kandahār, and in this city or in Kabul he was brought up until his father invaded India in 1555 to recover his lost crown. During these early years, some attempts were made to educate the boy prince, but either his teachers were incompetent or their pupil was too headstrong and devoted to sport and martial exercises to submit to the drudgery of learning, with the result that in his later years he had to depend mainly upon his readers for the gratification of his insatiable thirst for knowledge and religious literature. For any further attempts at systematic instruction were interrupted by his father's sudden death, when Akbar was only thirteen years of age, and the young sovereign had to engage in conflict with the rival claimants to the throne. The only parts of India that Humāyūn had so far succeeded in recovering were the capital, Delhi, and certain districts of the Punjab; even over these the hold of the restored monarch was uncertain and precarious, and the troops that held them were not entirely to be trusted, while the insulting behaviour of Abu'l-Ma'ālī² is indicative of the small degree of confidence that could be placed in some of the nobles who were nominally loyal. Kabul, which had been in the possession of princes of the house of Tīmūr for more than a century, was practically independent and was administered in the name of Akbar's younger brother, Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Three separate members of the Afghan family of Shīr Shāh, who had driven Humāyūn from his throne in 1542, were rivals for the succession; Hēmū, the Hindu general of one of them, having won several victories for his master, claimed the sovereignty for himself and entered Delhi in triumph. So desperate did the situation appear that some of Akbar's advisers urged an immediate retreat upon Kabul and the abandonment of India altogether. But the young prince had by his side an experienced general, Bayrām Khān, who inspired the Mughal troops with his own energy and determination, and a few months later (5 November, 1556) the victory at Panipat over the forces of Hēmū opened for Akbar the gates of Delhi and Agra, and any further opposition on the part of the family of Shīr Shāh was effectually crushed a few months later. But the process of consolidating and extending the empire was slow, and during his long reign of nearly fifty years Akbar seldom knew what it was to spend a whole twelvemonth without engaging in a campaign, and he had to contend not only with his Muhammadan co-religionists, but also with the forces of the various Hindu principalities. The Afghans were firmly established in Bengal, which for nearly three centuries had been an independent kingdom under Muhammadan rulers, and it was not until 1576 that Akbar succeeded in making it a province of his empire. The kingdom of Gujarat in the west of India had been governed by independent Sultans since the end of the fourteenth century, but Akbar took advantage of the disorder into which this wealthy country had fallen through the intrigues of factious nobles, and annexed it in 1572; but an insurrection broke out almost immediately after he had returned to his capital, and he had to prepare for a fresh expedition. In the fearful heat of an Indian summer, he rode accompanied by only a few attendants to the rescue of the city of Aḥmadābād, in which the governor he had

¹ *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*, described and illustrated by Edmund W. Smith, Part I, Plate CIX, fig. 1 (Allahabad, 1894).

² See Plates 7 and 8.

appointed was beleaguered, covering a distance of nearly six hundred miles in only nine days' travelling. With a force of three thousand horsemen he gained a decisive victory over twenty thousand of the rebels in the outskirts of Aḥmadābād in September 1573. The Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan preserved their independence until the latter part of Akbar's reign, but in 1596 the Sultanate of Aḥmadnagar had to cede the province of Birār, and in 1599 the kingdom of Khandesh was annexed after the capitulation of the impregnable fortress of Asirgarh, but the more powerful states of the Deccan resisted the attempts to incorporate them in the Mughal empire for more than eighty years after the death of Akbar. Equally formidable antagonists were the various Hindu chiefs of Rajputana, and the conflict with them was long and bitter; nor was it entirely successful, for the Rānā of Udaipur succeeded in maintaining his independence in proud isolation. But after the fall of Chitor in 1568, and other Rajput strongholds, these intrepid warriors began to range themselves on the side of a monarch who had not only established his superiority over them in the field of battle, but treated them with generosity and indulgence.

But his military operations were not confined to the schemes of conquest, which he pursued in accordance with the principle he laid down, 'A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him; the army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent';¹ for in the course of his long reign he had to suppress several insurrections against his authority. Some of these were stirred up by members of his own family, one by his brother Muḥammad Ḥakim, who in 1580 brought fifteen thousand cavalry from Kabul to invade the Punjāb—whereby Akbar had to spend ten months in military operations against the insurgents—and another by his eldest son and heir, Salim, who embittered the last years of his father's life by his open rebellion, and for nearly four years held court as a king.

It is astounding how so active a monarch, who conducted so many campaigns in person and concerned himself so intimately with the details of military organization, could have found time for the intellectual pursuits which he so ardently followed. The primary object of his policy appears to have been conquest, and his court, even when quartered in a city, was really a camp. He devoted much thought and labour to the drawing up of regulations for the recruitment of troops and the prevention of fraud in the provision of horses and equipment. He gave close attention to the details of military science, and is said to have invented a gun-barrel of spirally twisted iron that could not burst and a machine for firing seventeen guns simultaneously with a single match. He frequently inspected the workshops, which he maintained within the palace enclosure, for the founding of cannon and the manufacture of muskets. He himself was skilled in the use of fire-arms: at the siege of Chitor in 1568 it was a bullet from Akbar's own musket which killed the captain of the enemy's sharpshooters, and decided the fate of the garrison by killing Jai Mall, the commandant of the fortress, while he was directing the defence of a breach in the wall.

His restless activity is also shown by his passionate devotion to hunting; he was a fearless rider and a keen polo-player, and could even control a mad elephant. He delighted in encountering any kind of wild game, even such dangerous beasts as the lion or tiger, and the first time he caught sight of wild asses he was so keen on their pursuit that he became separated from his attendants and nearly perished of thirst in the desert of Bikaner.

In the midst of this strenuous life he exercised a personal control over every department of state, and in the business of government he had the rare faculty of combining a firm grasp on principles with minute attention to details. How far the credit for the revenue system elaborated in his reign is due to his great finance minister, Todar Mall, or

¹ *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 399.



to Akbar himself it is not easy to determine, but it is a remarkable testimony to the wise statesmanship which established this system that in several provinces of India to the present day the principles and practice in the assessment of land-revenue are essentially the same as those worked out by Akbar and his ministers.

From such an active life as would have exhausted the energies of most men, Akbar could turn with untiring energy to the cultivation of his intellectual and spiritual interests. 'Discourses on philosophy', he once said, 'have such an attraction for me that they distract me from all else, and I have forcibly to restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour be neglected.' He took special pleasure in works of theology and mysticism, and had them read over to him again and again, and would hold long discussions with the representatives of different faiths—Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Parsis. He had books translated from Arabic, Sanskrit, and other languages into Persian for his use, and every day had them read to him by experienced readers; in this manner, through his insatiable love of knowledge and his marvellously retentive memory, he was able largely to make up for the deficiencies of his early education.

No attempt can be made here to present every aspect of the life and character of this great and many-sided man, but so much may contribute to the appreciation of a monarch whose portrait appears so frequently in the illustrations of the present volume. When he died in September 1605, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Salīm, who on his succession assumed the name of Jahāngīr.

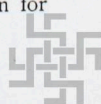
There is no doubt that Jahāngīr took as great an interest in the art of painting as his father had done, and there is ample evidence of this enthusiasm in that remarkable work of self-revelation, the *Memoirs*¹ which he wrote up to the seventeenth year of his reign. It is not surprising that Akbar should have impressed upon the mind of his son, Jahāngīr, his own personal tastes, in consideration of the deep affection with which he regarded him and the personal care which he devoted to his education. Several children had been snatched away by death in infancy when, in 1569, after many prayers and the intercession of saints, living and dead, the long-expected heir was born at Faṭḥpur-Sikrī, on the site where Akbar immediately set to work to erect that superb city, the stately buildings of which still survive as an abiding monument of this great monarch. Here, too, during the sixteen years during which Akbar made it his capital, was doubtless established the atelier of painters who illustrated the magnificent manuscripts which were prepared for the royal library. One of those already mentioned, the *Gulistan* of Sa'di (in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society) contains a note that it was executed in this city, and doubtless the young Prince Salīm (as the Emperor Jahāngīr was called before his accession) was acquainted from his childhood with the work of the artists whom his father regarded with so much favour. His name occurs in an inscription over the gateway of a city in a MS. in the British Museum (Add. 18,579, fol. 54 b), and as this picture was painted in the year 1013 A.H. (A.D. 1604)—as well as fol. 36—these two pictures were clearly executed for him while his father was still alive.

Several of Akbar's court painters, such as Abu'l-Ḥasan, Farrukh Beg, Dawlat, Bishan Dās, Govardhan, Maṇṣūr, and Manohar, continued to work for Jahāngīr, so the new ruler must have kept up the atelier that his father had established, but we have no particulars regarding its organization, though he gives the name of Maktub Khān as being the first superintendent of his library and picture gallery,² nor does it seem to have been carried on upon so lavish a scale as in the preceding reign.

The great series of MSS. of the masterpieces of Sanskrit and Persian literature, lavishly illustrated by a number of painters, with the name of each entered in red ink, does not appear to have been continued, partly, possibly, because Jahāngīr was content with his father's library as he found it, and he certainly lacked his father's insatiable passion for

¹ Translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge (London, 1909, 1914).

² *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 12.



knowledge. In the MS. of the *Shāh-nāmā* in the British Museum (Add. 5600) which was once in the possession of Jahāngīr, the names of the painters are written on some part of the pictures themselves, and not below them, as was the earlier custom; since, however, this MS. is not dated, we cannot say whether this change in the method of recording authorship had already begun before the death of Akbar, but it is certainly characteristic of the period of his son. Not that Jahāngīr cared less for pictures than his father, or was less generous in his patronage of individual painters; but his tastes did not turn in the same direction; he was interested more in the living world of nature than in the speculations of the spirit, more in the persons around him than in the history of the past. Consequently we have a larger number of portraits of contemporary statesmen and generals, and in his palace at Lahore he had a gallery containing pictures of the members of his family and the officials of his court,¹ and another in Kashmir with portraits of his father and grandfather and of the Shāh of Persia, with whom he exchanged embassies; other members of the imperial family were also represented, and in the upper story of the building the Amīrs and the officers of his household; on the walls of the outer hall were landscape paintings, showing the various stages of the route from India into Kashmīr.² Some idea of the character of this landscape decoration may perhaps be formed from the similar decoration (though of a much later date) of the Jahāzī Mahall, still standing, in the neighbourhood of Multān, on the walls of which are depicted the various cities through which the prince who built it, the last Nawāb of Multān, passed on his pilgrimage to Mecca.³

Naturally, too, portraits of the Emperor himself, taken in different periods of his reign, are common, as well as pictures of Darbārs, those ceremonial gatherings in which the Emperor gave audience to his nobles and high officers. When in 1613 he sent an ambassador to the Shāh of Persia, the painter Bishan Dās was ordered to accompany him, in order that he might take the portraits of the Shāh and the chief men of his state,⁴ and more than one copy of Bishan Dās's work on this occasion is still in existence;⁵ one of these—now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—represents Jahāngīr's ambassador handing to Shāh 'Abbās a crystal cup, which was one of the presents he had brought with him from India; among other figures in the picture are the two members (seated) of the ambassador's suite, with a servant standing behind him; an attendant also stands by the side of the Shāh, while one of his courtiers sits close by. Another representation of the same incident (in the Tagore collection, Calcutta) contains a large number of figures, with a line of soldiers in the background. In his *Memoirs* Jahāngīr writes that any of the Shāh's servants to whom he showed the portrait of the Shāh made by Bishan Dās, declared it to be a very good likeness.⁶ Even in the midst of a campaign Jahāngīr's artistic interest could thrust in the background all other interests, for example, when one of his generals, 'Abd Allāh Khān, had to retreat from the Deccan in 1611 as the result of his own folly in the conduct of this expedition, Jahāngīr, in spite of his indignation and the violence with which he upbraided his defeated general, considered this a proper opportunity for setting his painters to work. He had portraits made of 'Abd Allāh Khān and the other officers, and taking them into his hands, one by one, made comments on them. In reference to 'Abd Allāh's portrait he said, 'To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage; with such a figure, and such abilities, and lineage and rank, and treasure and army, you should not have run away.'⁷

A similar desire for pictorial record prompted him to have a picture made of any object of natural beauty or rarity that was brought to his notice. In his *Memoirs* he gives a long description of a turkey which one of his officials procured for him

¹ Purchas, *Pilgrims*, Vol. IV, p. 53 (Glasgow, 1905): Narrative of William Finch.

² *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 161-2.

³ J. Ph. Vogel, 'The Jahāzī Mahal at Shujabad' (*The Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. X, No. 85, 1904).

⁴ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 116.

⁵ *Rupam*, No. 4, p. 8 (Calcutta, 1920).

⁶ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁷ *Ma'āthir al-Umara*, trans. H. Beveridge, p. 99 (Calcutta, 1914).



from the Portuguese in Goa, and he ordered a picture of it to be drawn to accompany his account of it.¹ With the same desire that others should share the aesthetic delight which he himself took in natural objects, he ordered his celebrated animal painter, Maṇṣūr, to make a picture of a beautifully marked falcon that had been presented to him.²

This same artist, on whom Jahāngīr conferred the title of Nadīr al-ʿAṣr ('the marvel of the age') in appreciation of his high merit,³ was also instructed to paint the flowers of Kashmir, which excited the admiration of this beauty-loving monarch. In his Memoirs he writes, 'Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring . . . a delightful flower-bed. . . . Wherever the eye reaches there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs, beyond all counting. In the soul-enchancing spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips'.⁴ Maṇṣūr is stated to have painted more than a hundred different specimens of these flowers.⁵ While quite a number of his animal pictures have been preserved, no example of his flower-painting is known except that which has been published by Mr. N. C. Mehta.⁶

We have contemporary evidence of the lively interest that Jahāngīr showed in the art of painting from the letters of Sir Thomas Roe, who visited his court during the years 1615 to 1619 as ambassador from King James I,⁷ and was much impressed by the skill of the court painters, declaring that in the practice of their art the Emperor's painters worked miracles.⁸ There seems to be no doubt that Jahāngīr was a skilled connoisseur,⁹ but we have no independent means of determining whether he was justified in making for himself the claim which he puts forward in his Memoirs: 'As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man; and if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who painted the eye and the eyebrows.'¹⁰

At any rate some credit is due to a patron who could encourage and appreciate good workmanship, and how high was the level of attainment reached by his court painters, the present collection abundantly illustrates. His insight in the recognition of merit is shown by his patronage of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, whom he had looked after from his youth upwards; unfortunately, only a few examples of this artist's work are known to us, but their fine quality entirely justifies the terms of high praise in which Jahāngīr speaks of him. He painted a picture of Jahāngīr's accession as a frontispiece for the Memoirs, presumably for the Emperor's private copy, and Jahāngīr praises it as a masterpiece¹¹; but unfortunately it appears to have perished.

Jahāngīr's enjoyment of the pictures that his court painters painted for him is evidenced by the fact that he frequently wrote inscriptions upon them with his own hand. Several examples of this practice are noted in the present catalogue, while among other instances may be mentioned the entry made in the first year of his reign in the well-known Akbar-nāmah now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

He was evidently delighted to enter into possession of his late father's library, and took

¹ *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 215.

² *Id.*, Vol. II, p. 108 (cf. p. 157 for a picture of a diving bird).

³ *Id.*, Vol. II, p. 20.

⁴ *Id.*, Vol. II, pp. 143-4.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 145.

⁶ *Studies in Indian painting*, p. 80 (Bombay, 1926).

⁷ *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, edited by

Sir William Foster, pp. 187 sqq., 199 sqq. (Oxford, 1926).

⁸ *Id.*, p. xxxix.

⁹ 'Jahāngīr . . . was . . . the typical patron, collector, connoisseur: but to Akbar art was an avenue to the glory of the created world and a means of apprehending the Creator.' Binyon, *Akbar* (London, 1932), p. 75.

¹⁰ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 20-1.

¹¹ *Id.*, Vol. II, p. 20.



pleasure in recording details about the manuscripts, their scribes, and the artists who illustrated them, especially Persians.¹

Among the paintings made for Jahāngīr there are many which owe their origin to the same interest in works of Christian art as his father had displayed before him—indeed, it was doubtless Akbar who first drew his attention to the pictures which the Jesuits brought to his capital, for when Father Jerome Xavier presented to Akbar two pictures, one representing Jesus Christ and the other Saint Ignatius Loyola, Prince Salim (as he was then styled) asked his father's permission to take the second away in order to have a copy made of it.²

In the Jahāngīr Album,³ now in the Staatsbibliothek, in Berlin, there are a number of paintings which are obvious copies of Flemish woodcuts. These must have been brought to Agra by the Jesuit missionaries, and Dr. Kühnel⁴ has succeeded in tracing some of the individual figures to drawings by Albrecht Dürer, e.g. in the margin of fol. 5 there is a copy of the St. John who stands at the foot of the Cross in the Crucifixion drawn by Dürer in 1511; but the Indian artist has slightly changed the pose of the head and made the Apostle look to the left instead of to the right. Still further liberty has been taken with a Virgin and Child which Dürer drew in 1513, but the source of the Indian painting (fol. 5) is unmistakable. In other cases an attempt is made to copy the original exactly, as in the instance of a Holy Family painted by Johann Rottenhamer (1564–1623), an engraving of which was published by Raphael Sadlier in 1601; here (fol. 1 b) the Indian painter has introduced very little of his own, but apparently he considered the foliage of the tree to be too thick, and he has omitted the basket in the corner, probably because it was of a kind unfamiliar to him, and has sprinkled the foreground with flowers, after the manner common in Indian and Persian pictures.

Jahāngīr also had pictures representing incidents in the life of Jesus, and scenes from the lives of the Apostles, painted in the interior of his palace. The models for these were probably selected from the woodcuts that the Jesuit fathers residing at his court had presented to him, for the Emperor used to send his painters to the fathers in order that they might ascertain what particular colours they were to use for the garments of each. Father Guerreiro records how offensive these pictures were to Muhammadan sentiment: 'This is a painful eyesore to the Moors, for they are so averse to pictures that they do not suffer to be represented those of their own faith whom they look upon as saints, much less those of the Christian faith which they so much dislike.' Among those painted on the ceiling of one of the rooms in the palace at Agra was a picture of Christ surrounded by angels, while on the walls were some saints in miniature, such as St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, and others, as well as some women saints. Above the window, the so-called *jharokhā*, in which the Emperor used to seat himself when he showed himself to the people, in accordance with the daily custom of Mughal emperors, was, on one side, a picture of Christ holding the orb in His hand, and on the other a copy of a painting of the Virgin Mary attributed to St. Luke, which still hangs over the altar in the Borghese chapel of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Inside the same window, on the vaulted roof of the balcony, were similar pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary.

The Emperor even went so far as to cause the great tomb which he had erected to the memory of his father at Sikandra, a little way outside the city of Agra, to be decorated with frescoes, and fortunately Manucci, though with some difficulty, managed to get sight of them before the Emperor Awrangzeb ordered them to be obliterated with whitewash.

¹ e.g. the *Zafar-nāmah* MS. of A. H. 872 (see *Bihzād and his paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS.*, by Sir T. W. Arnold, p. 2) and the *Khamseh* of Nizāmī (Or. 6810) at the British Museum. He had a habit of recording the estimated value of precious manuscripts.

² Du Jarric, op. cit., p. 82.

³ There is a similar album in the Gulistan Museum,

Tehran, for which see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Appendix III. See also the references in Sir E. D. Maclagan, op. cit.

⁴ Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangiralbum der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1924, English edition, London, 1925).



As is well known, the tomb of Akbar stands in the middle of a vast park, surrounded by a lofty wall built of red sandstone. In the principal gateway leading into this enclosure Manucci saw a picture of Christ on the Cross, another of the Virgin Mary, and another of St. Ignatius. On the ceiling of the vast dome above the grave of Akbar were great angels and cherubs and many other painted figures.¹

Of none of these pictures does a single trace remain, but fortunately some slight indication of their nature is preserved in some of the pictures of Jahāngīr's period, for example, in one of the pictures in the Wantage Collection, now in the Indian Museum, representing Nūr Jahān entertaining Jahāngīr and Prince Khurram in 1617, we find reproduced just such pictures as the Jesuit father saw on either side of the *jharokhā*, the Virgin Mary and Christ holding the orb in His hand.² Also, in the well-known picture³ of the Darbār of Jahāngīr, formerly in the possession of Dr. Schulz (now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), just above the head of the Emperor is clearly visible a picture of the Virgin, which was possibly intended to be a copy of the painting attributed to St. Luke, in the Borghese chapel in Rome, while on the other side of the canopy is a kneeling figure, behind which is an angel that may well have formed part of a picture of the Crucifixion. Such sacred personages were not depicted only by the court painters, for Jahāngīr gives a minute description of a piece of ivory-carving made by one of his seal-cutters, so tiny that it could be placed within the shell of a filbert; it was divided into four compartments, in one of which Jesus was represented as seated under a tree talking to an old man, while another man was bowing his head at the feet of Jesus, and four others were standing by His side. Jahāngīr was so pleased with the skill shown in the production of what he regarded as a masterpiece, that he increased the salary of the artist and also gave him a handsome present.⁴

The Emperor Shāh Jahān (1628-58) does not appear to have displayed the same generous patronage towards the court painters as his father had done, though we have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe that when he was a young man he took an interest in painting, for when the English ambassador presented him with a silver watch, the prince, while accepting it, said that he would have much preferred one of the English miniatures that Sir Thomas Roe had shown the Emperor the evening before.⁵ He evidently appreciated the treasures of pictorial art that his father had accumulated, for on the very day of his accession one of his first acts was to inscribe upon some of the illuminated MSS. the fact that they had now passed into his possession.⁶ The art of court portraiture, as a matter of fact, reached its height of achievement during his reign. The atelier of the court painters appears to have been still maintained, but the establishment must have been considerably diminished in numbers, as only a few names of the painters of this period can be collected and none of the official chroniclers of Shāh Jahān's reign give any account of them. Bālchand, Dawlat, and Pak continued to work for the new ruler, but Manohar, who had been one of the court painters under Akbar and Jahāngīr, apparently had to seek another patron in the person of Prince Dārā Shikoh, since we find that he signed one of his pictures 'The work of Manohar Dārā Shikoh'; just as another painter (otherwise unknown) makes a similar acknowledgement of the support given him by this enlightened prince by styling himself 'Faṭḥ Allāh Dārā Shikoh'.⁷ But Darbār scenes representing Shāh Jahān in all the magnificence of his newly erected palace, his sumptuous throne, and his bejewelled royal person, are not uncommon, and his personal interest in portraiture is evinced by the large number of pictures of himself which may be termed official, and by the numerous

¹ N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, translated by William Irvine (London, 1907), Vol. I, p. 141.

² I. M. 115-1921.

³ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Part VI, Plate XXXIV.

⁴ *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 201.

⁵ *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, edited by Sir William Foster, p. 227 (Oxford, 1926).

⁶ Blochet, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome XLI, p. 67 (Paris, 1923).

⁷ *Bibliothèque Nationale*, O.D. 42, fol. 36 b.

⁸ *Id.*, 10 b.



inscriptions which he wrote with his own hand on the margins of portraits of the nobles of his court and of other pictures in his possession. But during this reign the court painters undoubtedly received less encouragement from the sovereign, and many of them had to seek for patrons among the wealthier nobles. For the artistic interests of Shāh Jahān were concentrated more upon architecture than on painting, and his magnificent and costly buildings must have reduced the allowance for the rival arts.

Another reason for this decline of interest on the part of the Emperor is probably to be found in the more orthodox attitude that he took up towards the art of painting, as compared with his father and grandfather. For it must be borne in mind that the Mughal emperors were rulers of a great Muslim state, and that such feelings of loyalty as they might hope to inspire in their Muhammadan subjects would largely be based on respect for the rulers as upholders of the religious law. Akbar was strong enough to disregard that sentiment. Jahāngir on his accession found it politic to conciliate the rigidly orthodox by making a promise to uphold the faith of Islam, and in the earliest years of his reign he replaced the Muslim creed on the coinage of the empire. Later on, when he felt his position more secure, his policy, especially towards the adherents of other creeds, was as tolerant as that of his father had been. But his drunken habits were in direct contradiction to one of the most characteristic ethical principles of his religion, and by his use of images on some of the coins which he struck he flouted the prevailing orthodox sentiment, which, indeed, has influenced the coinage of the whole Muhammadan world for more than thirteen centuries, with exceptions so rare as to call for special notice. Those that bore the signs of the Zodiac were probably intended for general circulation, but those on which his own portraits were engraved were more probably designed to serve the purpose of medals or presentation pieces; in these Jahāngir, wearing a turban adorned with the imperial aigrette, sometimes holds in his hand a fruit, and sometimes a book; but there are several in which he is represented as holding a wine-cup in his right hand; to the strict adherents of his own creed such representations must have appeared outrageous and have excited profound indignation. They entirely cease in the reign of Shāh Jahān, for the new Emperor was more scrupulous in his observance of the religious laws of Islam. His desire to conform with an orthodox mode of life is further exemplified by his abolition of the ceremony of prostration. On his succession he ordered that the practice of kissing the ground should be substituted in place of it; but even this mark of respect, because of its association with the ritual of divine worship, was felt to be objectionable by the pious monarch, and he finally issued orders that the mode of salutation which his subjects should adopt in his presence was to be that of bowing and touching the head, even on special occasions when royal favours were conferred upon them or imperial mandates were entrusted to his officers for commission.¹

His devoutness is also exemplified by an act for which there is no parallel in the biography either of his father or his grandfather, namely his sending of an amber candlestick to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina. His librarian, Ināyat Khān, in his history of his master's reign, commonly known as the Shāh Jahān-nāmah, gives a long account of this magnificent present. A diamond of unusual size and brilliancy had been extracted from a mine in Golconda, and after having been cut was valued by the court jewellers at a lakh and a half of rupees. As such a valuable diamond had never before come into his possession, Shāh Jahān made a vow to present it to the tomb of the Prophet, and having selected from his private property the largest of his amber candlesticks, he ordered it to be covered with a network of gold and to be studded with gems, among which this diamond was included. When the work was completed its value was estimated to be worth a sum larger than £31,000 in English currency, and the officer who was deputed to carry this precious offering was at the same time instructed to distribute £20,000 among the officials and the inhabitants of the two holy cities.² Whatever may have been the

¹ H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 170.

² Id., pp. 84-5.

attitude of Akbar and Jahāngīr to their religion, it certainly never stirred them to such an act of munificent devotion.

With the accession of Awrangzeb (1658–1707) the patronage which the Mughal emperors had hitherto extended to the painter was entirely and ruthlessly withdrawn. Awrangzeb sought to model his life upon the strictest and most rigid precepts of his religion, and in the pursuance of this end he was ready to risk the ruin of his empire and to face rebellion and disaffection in any form whatsoever. He did not hesitate to alienate the sympathy of the Hindus, on whose allegiance Akbar had so firmly laid the foundations of his rule, by destroying their temples even in the holiest centres of their religion and in such sacred places of pilgrimage as Benares and Mathura. He also imposed the poll-tax on non-Muslims which Akbar had so wisely abolished early in his reign.

His attitude towards the arts may be judged by his prohibition of music; in whatever house was heard the sound of singing and playing, the police officials were to enter, arrest the musicians, and destroy their instruments. Thus deprived of their means of livelihood, the musicians thought of the following device for exciting the sympathy of their bigoted monarch. As Awrangzeb was going to the mosque one Friday, his attention was attracted to a great funeral procession in which nearly a thousand people were accompanying a bier with great weeping and lamentation. When the Emperor made inquiries as to the cause of such sorrow, they informed him that his orders had killed music and that they were carrying it to its burial. Unmoved by their distress, the Emperor coldly bade them bury it deep, so that no sound should henceforth arise from its grave.

The painters of the royal ateliers must similarly have found themselves deprived of their employment. Whereas in the reign of Akbar the high estimation with which he regarded the art of painting made it possible for the painter to be entrusted with high office, this change in the imperial favour brought about a corresponding degradation of what had previously been an honoured profession. No longer were official posts bestowed upon painters, or titles of honour invented to confer distinction upon them, and their art, in orthodox circles at least—and these in the reign of Awrangzeb were in the ascendant—fell, along with music, from its high estate.

As the sovereign naturally set the pattern of behaviour for his court, and as, in such an age, whether in Europe or the East, flattery took the form of imitation, the nobles on whose patronage the painters had to depend after the break-up of the atelier in the palace appear to have behaved with great harshness towards such artists as they employed. For despite the withdrawal of imperial patronage, an art so long established in the country, so firmly rooted in popular sympathy, and so long patronized by the nobles of the court, could not suddenly disappear, even at the bidding of a monarch so stern and uncompromising as was Awrangzeb. Consequently we find that some of the nobles continued to employ painters as they employed other artists, though doubtless they took care that such unlawful tastes should remain concealed from their imperial master. Just as it had been the custom in the Muhammadan east for the rulers to keep up a regular establishment of artists and workmen, who were regarded as salaried servants of the state, and pursued their avocations in workshops situated within the precincts of the palace itself, so the wealthier nobles kept up in their own mansions similar groups of workmen. Bernier, who travelled in India between the years 1658 and 1668, gives us an interesting account of such establishments, and tells us that 'in one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master; in another you see the goldsmiths; in a third painters; in a fourth varnishers in lacquer-work'.¹ In some such wealthy households the painter, dismissed from the palace, might possibly have found some permanent employment, but the lot of the unfortunate artist who had to depend for his livelihood upon casual engagements was, according to Bernier, wretched indeed. For he tells us: 'These unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The

¹ *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 259 (Oxford, 1914).



rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an Omrah or Mansubdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazaar for him, employing force if necessary to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labourer, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the *korrah* has not been given in part payment.¹ Further he adds: 'No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article; a people whose grandes pay for a work of art considerably under its value and according to their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist or tradesman with the *korrah*, that long and terrible whip hanging at every Omrah's gate. Is it not enough also to damp the ardour of any artist when he feels he can never hope to attain to any distinction; that he will not be permitted to purchase either office or land for the benefit of himself and his family; that he must at no time make it appear he is the owner of the most trifling sum; and that he may never venture to indulge in good fare, or to dress in fine apparel, lest he should create a suspicion of his possessing money?'²

Bernier's contemporary, Jean de Thévenot, who travelled in India in the years 1666 and 1667, bears similar testimony to the distressed condition of painters in India, and states that for lack of encouragement they did not devote much pains to their work, and produced just as much as enabled them to keep themselves alive.³

From this time onwards, Indian painting of the Mughal school never succeeded in reaching again the high level of attainment that distinguished it in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir, and Shāh Jahān, and its memorials mark an irremediable decline.

[The decline, nevertheless, though real enough, was not so abrupt as it is sometimes represented. The complicated course of events during the eighteenth century, after Awrangzeb's death in 1707, involved great changes in the circumstances of the artists. Though the great days of imperial patronage were over, the painters were, for that very reason, less tied to uniformity; their employment, though not so regular as before, was at any rate more varied, and the range and diversity of early eighteenth-century painting, some of it of admirable quality of line and colour, is unquestionable. It can be appreciated by looking through the albums of mixed calligraphy and miniatures—a kind of scrap-books, put together without any particular system of arrangement—which it was the eighteenth-century fashion for collectors, Indian and European, to keep, and examples of which are to be seen in a number of public and private collections.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century there had been a steady increase in genre painting, in response, doubtless, to the demands of a less predominantly aristocratic taste; but many fine portraits continued, all along, to be executed.⁴ Those of Awrangzeb's reign—usually of officials or provincial notables—do not call for any special notice. They are in the earlier tradition. A local school, closely related to that of the imperial court, had grown up in Haydarābād.⁵ It specialized in portraiture, several albums of which exist, in the British Museum and elsewhere. It is probably responsible for some of the representations of Awrangzeb, depicted in extreme old age, which, with incidents of his campaigns, are not uncommon. A type of dignified equestrian portrait, beginning apparently early in the seventeenth century, was successfully developed during the next hundred years or so. But at the same time the scope of painting widened. It included many traditional

¹ *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 254-5.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

³ *Voyages de M. de Thévenot, &c.*, Paris, 1684, pp. 135-6.

⁴ It is a curious fact that the great number of English miniaturists, including some of the most celebrated names in the history of miniature painting, who visited India in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

seem to have had very little influence on Indian practice in portraiture.

⁵ The early Deccani school, represented by a manuscript of outstanding interest in the present collection, may be regarded rather as a blend of Persian traditions and of those of the old indigenous art, which came into direct contact owing to political relations.



representations of real, legendary, and half-legendary characters. Scenes of comedy, love, and sentiment are, meanwhile, introduced more and more as time goes on. Eighteenth-century painting, in fact, reflects in its subjects every aspect of an era of picturesque decline, with its contrasts of luxury and vagabondage.¹

Imperial patronage, meanwhile, was not altogether withdrawn, and the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719–48) especially saw a real, though temporary, revival at the centre. Some of the descendants of the Delhi court painters remained on long afterwards at the impoverished capital, and examples of the so-called 'Delhi qalam' are among the best known of all the later work.

The empire, however, was rapidly dissolving, and many of the artists dispersed to the provincial capitals, which gained in prestige as the power at the centre weakened. Mughal painting, which in its heyday represented a successful synthesis of Western, Persian, and indigenous elements, approximated in various degrees more and more to purely Indian standards. A number of mixed and provincial styles arose in the different courts, the Punjab, the States of Rajputana and the Himalayas, at Poona, Lucknow, Patna, and elsewhere. Painters from Northern India penetrated as far south as Mysore, where there was a flourishing local school as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.

Among the products of these provincial schools the Sikh paintings (mainly of the period 1775–1850) of the Punjab are often vigorous and arresting, especially in portraiture; but the most interesting blend of Mughal with traditional Indian art occurred in the Himalayan hill states. It is from here, indeed, that the Sikh painting is mainly derived—hill painters from the conquered States being employed by the rulers.

In the Kāngra Valley, and the surrounding hill regions, a forceful archaic school of painting was already in existence.² It modified its character during the course of the seventeenth century, and the art reached its culmination at the end of the eighteenth, in the time of Raja Sansār Chand of Kāngra (d. 1823), under whose enthusiastic patronage, till his dominions were absorbed by the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh, many of the typical graceful, if mannered, Kāngra drawings, taking as their subjects, for the most part, scenes from the Kṛishṇa legends, were executed. The style was clearly influenced, in some degree, by Mughal examples; it spread farther afield, and the various hill schools of painting at Jamu, Garhwal, and the Kulu valley doubtless interacted on one another.³

An interesting offshoot of Mughal painting is connected with the ancestor of the painter Molā Rām⁴ (1760–1833) one of the few known names among these artists. As early as 1658 this Mughal court painter took refuge in Garhwal, where he founded a distinctive local school, with obvious affinities with older Mughal art. His descendants are still living in Srinagar, the capital of Garhwal State.

Numbers of Kāngra artists went on producing their characteristic drawings throughout the nineteenth century. Some were killed in the terrible earthquake of 1905, but several still survive, and continue to execute both frescoes and small drawings on paper, all closely following traditional canons.

The whole subject of 'Rajput' painting is acutely controversial, and involves stylistic

¹ Cf. Goetz's remarks on pp. 77–8 of his *Bilderatlas*: 'Keine Zeit im muhammedanischen Indien war so voll des Verlangens nach Natur und Einfachheit wie diese, und keine war so raffiniert, so unnatürlich, so verweichlicht und allen Lasten der Erotik, des Alkohols und der Rauschgifte verfallen wie eben diese.'

² For Himalayan, or *Pahāyī*, painting, and its developments, see Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916) and other works by this author, especially his *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Part V, *Rajput Painting*, Boston, 1926). An interesting account of this painting, of the country and its history, is contained in Mr. J. C. French's *Himalayan*

Art (London, 1931). From exactly what source the later hill painting derived the inspiration for the peculiar grace of its drawing remains a matter for speculation.

³ Dr. Coomaraswamy (*Catalogue of the Indian Collections* . . . *Rajput Painting*, pp. 6–7), while accepting the main classification of hill painting under two groups, those of Jamu and Kāngra, attempts a further and much more detailed grouping under no less than twenty-two sub-groups, eleven each under the Eastern (Jālandhar, Kāngra), and Western (Dogra, Jamu) main groups.

⁴ See the article by Mr. Mukandi Lal in *Rupam*, no. 8 (October, 1921).



problems with which this Introduction is not primarily concerned. The greatest diversity of opinion exists as to the relationship between 'Mughal' and 'Rajput' painting. Some critics, for instance, still regard 'Rajput' art as a mere modification of that of the Mughal court. Earlier writers never made any distinction between the two, till 'Rajput painting' was discovered by Dr. Coomaraswamy. Other critics, admitting the need of some kind of differentiation, do not, nevertheless, find it easy to accept a clear duality. They point to the existence of a very numerous class of paintings of mixed style, which cannot be said to belong definitely to either category, and argue, with some force, that a distinction based mainly on the differences of subjects in the two kinds of painting cannot be maintained. It is certainly true that the mere fact that 'Rajput' painting is chiefly concerned with sacred, and Mughal art with secular, subjects would not justify a clear-cut definition, and it is a fact that too much has been made of this non-essential difference; but those who base their view on something more than this have a stronger case. Mr. Lawrence Binyon, for instance, sees in Kāngra art an individual style, owing little or nothing to the Mughal school.¹

Another view may be stated somewhat as follows. While it would be inaccurate to describe Rajput painting as a derivative of that of the Mughal court, it is impossible to fix a very rigid line of demarcation between the two. Both have elements in common, but in the more extreme types of each the elements are differently mixed. The coincidence of two quite distinct arts, developing side by side during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is improbable in itself and receives no support from history. It is precisely in those districts where Mughal influence and artists are known to have penetrated that the later provincial styles, 'Rajput' or otherwise, chiefly flourished.

But at the same time Mughal art itself was no foreign importation; though it arose from the teaching of Persian artists, their pupils did not paint like Persians. It borrowed freely, from Persia and from Europe, whatever it suited it to borrow, but it remained true, in essence, to Indian traditional ideas, which asserted themselves more and more as time went on, when the foreign contacts became mere reminiscences.

This view agrees broadly with that of M. Stchoukine, who is led, by his analysis of the formal elements, as opposed to the subject-matter, of Mughal and provincial painting, to the Hegelian conclusion that a profound essential unity embraces the apparently wide differences between the two.

J. V. S. W.]

¹ 'Their style is their own, and retains its affinities with the earlier art. They borrowed nothing of that element of realism which makes portraiture (in a wide sense) the great preoccupation of the Mogul painters.

In their art the vision is different, the aim is different, the line has a different function.' (Introduction to *Himalayan Art*, p. vi.)



NOTE TO INTRODUCTION¹

[The following note was written by Sir Thomas Arnold as an introduction to a table of the manuscripts and miniatures containing signed examples of the work of the court painters of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. The table has not been included here, as it has not been found possible to complete the verification which would be necessary.]

THE difficulties and uncertainties connected with the task of compiling a list of authentic works by the court painters are many, for in few instances is there any degree of assurance possible that the painter has himself signed his name on his picture. That we have such a genuine signature in two illustrations to the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* (B.M. Add. 18579), dated A.H. 1019, appears probable, since the names are written on a stone which forms part of the picture itself, and the artist in each case expresses his devotion to his imperial master, e.g. on fol. 36 the inscription runs, 'The work of Āqā Muḥammad Rīzā, disciple of the Emperor', and fol. 21, 'The work of Muḥammad Rīzā, disciple'. The numerous other names of the artists who contributed to the decoration of this manuscript are written in red ink under the pictures ascribed to them, with the exception of that of Mohan (fol. 264) which is written in black ink.

But the question naturally arises, with what degree of confidence can these names, written in the majority of cases below the pictures, be accepted as authentic? In most MSS. prepared for the library of Akbar, the handwriting is of a uniform character, and the names must accordingly have been appended by some official, probably the superintendent of the imperial atelier, and not written by the artists themselves. The ample details sometimes supplied, indicating which of the court painters collaborated in producing the picture and what was the contribution of each individual among them, suggest that such entries were contemporary and based upon accurate knowledge. In some cases as many as three artists have worked together; one made the original sketch or design, another did the painting, while a third put in the features of the persons represented in the picture. Such a division of the work is more commonly confined to two painters only. Some signatures from the illustrations of the *Akbar-namah* in the Victoria and Albert Museum may be taken as examples: 105, 'sketch and work, Khēm Karan'; 53, 'sketch, Jagan, work, Narāyan, faces Madhū Khurd'; 55, 'sketch and faces, Miskīnā, work, Sarwan'; 17, 'sketch, Basāwan, work, Sarwan, six faces, Madhū'; 29, 'sketch, Miskīn, work, Shankar, faces, Miskīn'.

In the *Darab-namah* (B.M. Or. 4615) we have the unusual entry: 'work of Bihzad, emendations by Khwajah 'Abd al-Ṣamad' (fol. 103 b).

But even when these entries have been accepted as providing reliable and contemporary information, the difficulties of the historian are not at an end. The binder here intervenes to rob him of precious information, and with his ruthless knife shows himself as destructive of the record of artistic achievement as he is of beautiful wide margins and of geometric ornament. Sometimes the names of the painters are sheared off altogether; sometimes a plausible interpretation is possible of such scanty fragments of letters as have been allowed to survive, but in other cases a few dots or the tips of once tall characters defy all attempts at reconstruction. Still more perplexities, however, remain even after the names of the artists have been rescued from the many forms of destruction that have threatened them through successive generations—fire and water, white ants, the binder's knife or scissors, the ill-instructed pedantry of the librarian, or the greed of the forger who obliterates a genuine signature and writes in its place a more famous name—Bihzad, for preference—in the hope of enhancing the market price of his wares. There was a Kēsū the elder and a Kēsū the younger; which of them was Kēsū Gujarātī and which was Kēsū Kahār, and to which are to be assigned pictures that are merely signed Kēsū? Are Rīzā and Āqā Rīzā, and Muḥammad Rīzā, and Āqā Muḥammad Rīzā four persons, or only varying indications of one and the same name? Did Ram Das sometimes call himself simply Ram, and Sūr Das simply Sūr, and Tara Chand simply Tara? There is little doubt that Jagannāth is sometimes called Jagan merely; but are Sūr, Sūr Jīū, Sūr Das,

¹ See page xviii.



Saraj and Sūrya likewise only variants of the name of one individual? Did Khēm sometimes style himself Khēm Karan, and was he Khēm the elder—though such a name has not hitherto been recorded—seeing that some pictures are ascribed to Khēm the younger? There were certainly two painters named Farrukh—one styled the elder, the other, the younger; Farrukh Chela ('the disciple') is probably the latter, and Farrukh Beg possibly the former; but to which of them are to be credited the pictures signed merely 'Farrukh'?

Varieties of spelling also are apt to be puzzling. There is little doubt that Nana, Nanah and Nanha indicate the same person, and Madu (Razm-namah,¹ Plates 19, 41, 55, 61, and 73; B.M. Add. 18579 (Anwar-i-Suhaylī), fol. 350 b—Plate XXXIII in Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson's edition) is undoubtedly a case of careless spelling for Madhū; and one and the same person apparently has had his name variously spelt Bhūr, Bhura, and Bhūrah. But is it so certain that Sankaran or Shankaran is a variant of Shankar?

In many cases, too, the inscription has been carelessly written, for the scribes who wrote these names frequently omit the diacritical points and consequently some students have failed to recognize Shankar under the form Sankar, or have misread Qabūl Chand as Qabūl Aḥmad. In consequence of such misreadings the reader will fail to find in the attached list certain names that have already appeared in printed books, e. g. Bris,² Bokhtor,³ Manih,⁴ Dara, Ghulam Nabī, Sukhjiwan,⁵ Kourdehen,⁶ Prarahat,⁷ &c.

The name Ikhlāṣ is puzzling; the literal meaning of it is 'sincerity', 'sincere attachment', and it is unlikely that it was the personal name of any one of the painters. On fol. 54 b of the MS. of Anwar-i-Suhaylī in the British Museum (Add. 18,579), the painter's name is given as Muḥammad Rīza murīd *ba ikhlāṣ, i. e. 'devoted follower in (all) sincerity', and it is quite possible this same painter is indicated by the signatures Ikhlāṣ and Ghulam Ikhlāṣ.

The names of the Hindu painters have been written by the scribes of the imperial atelier in Persian characters, just as they were pronounced, and in the abbreviated form commonly adopted, even to the present day, in India, among the lower classes, thus Bhawānī Das (whose name occurs thus in full, once, in the Jahāngir Album, Berlin, p. 25 b) is generally styled Bhawānī; Rām Das ('the servant of the god Rāma') sometimes appears as Rām; Īśvara Das ('the servant of the Lord') becomes simply Ishar; Kēśava Das, Kēsū; Mukund Rām, Mukund (a name of Viṣṇu); Durga Dās, Durgah; Parasurāma (the name of the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu), Paras. Sometimes the Sanskrit form of the original name has to submit to the exigencies of the Persian alphabet, as when Vichitra ('diversified, beautiful') becomes Bichitr, or is deliberately and pedantically changed in spelling, as Lal ('a darling, a ruby') is invariably written La'l (Persian 'ruby')⁸, and the name of the Hindu caste Kahār (the caste of palanquin-bearers, water-drawers, &c.) is spelt Qahhār ('over-mastering, mighty'), as though it were actually an Arabic word (v. B.M. Or. 4615, foll. 29, 81, 102).

The majority of these Hindu painters appear to have belonged to the Ahīr caste, a caste of agriculturists, most of whom claim descent from Nanda, the foster-father of the god Kṛishṇa; hence the number of names connected with the cult of Kṛishṇa, such as Banwārī, Gobind, Govardhan, Kānha, Jagannāth ('lord of the world'), Kēsū ('long-haired'), Madhū ('slayer of Madhu'), Manohar ('heart-ravishing, charming'), Mathura, Mukund, Nand, Shyām ('dark-blue'), &c. The Ahīrs are a low caste, and the termination ā, which causes so many variants in this list, is a characteristic addition to the names of persons of low social status, e. g. Miskīnā (for Miskīn), Parasā (for Paras), &c.

Like most other arts in India, that of painting was often hereditary, and the inscriptions on the pictures occasionally give indications of relationship, e. g. Govardhan was the son of Bhawānī Das,¹⁰

¹ Colonel T. H. Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, Vol. IV (London, 1884).

² For Paras. (E. Blochet, *Les peintures orientales de la collection Pozzi*, p. 31 (nos. 11, 12), Paris, 1928.)

³ For Bichitr. (E. Blochet, *Inventaire et description des miniatures des manuscrits orientaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 219, Paris, 1900.)

⁴ For the Arabic *min-hu* (lit. from him, i. e. by the same painter as the previous picture). (*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, Vol. VII, p. 43 (no. 37), Patna, 1921.)

⁵ For Jagiwan. See Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 198.

⁶ *Miniatures Persanes... exposées au Musée des Arts*

Décoratifs, Juin-Octobre, 1912. Préface et commentaire par M.M. Georges Marteau et Henri Vever. Planché CLXVI. (Paris, 1913.)

⁷ For Padārāth. See E. Blochet, 'Notes sur des peintures hindoues de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, 10^e année. (Paris, 1926, p. 28.)

⁸ The word *murīd* properly means 'a spiritual disciple', but was often used to express devotion and attachment to the Mughal Emperors by their servants. In this same MS. Muḥammad Rīza calls himself *murīd* (fol. 21) and *murīd-i-pādshāh* (fol. 36).

⁹ Lālū appears as a diminutive or familiar form of Lāl, but only one instance of it has been noted.

¹⁰ Jahāngir-Album, Berlin, p. 25 b.



Manohar the son of Basāwan,¹ Nand the son of Ram Dās,² 'Alī the son of Mukhlīṣ,³ and Mukbir the son of Bichitr.⁴ Further, 'Ābid was the brother of Abu'l-Ḥasan,⁵ and 'Aṣṭ the brother of Miskina.⁶ Other examples have already been given from literary sources.

Any inquiry into the stylistic characteristics of the individual painters must be difficult, not only owing to the fact that painters undoubtedly conformed to a common atelier style, but also from the doubtful character of the attributions, and from our present uncertainty as to the amount of evidence available for study. Much of the evidence is, of course, lost. To take the case of the present collection only: the binder has robbed us of the names of 104 out of 164 painters of the illustrations to the copy of Abu'l-Fazl's 'Iyar-i-Danish, made for the emperor Akbar; of the MS. of the Akbar-namah only Book II and part of Book III have been preserved, and as the original numbering of the illustrations still survives on the left-hand margin of each picture, it can be recognized that even from this portion of the MS. as many as fifty-four pictures are missing, and as the enumeration begins with no. 56, there must have been fifty-five illustrations to the text of Book I and several more in the missing concluding part of Book III. Similar examples might be given from many other MSS. Further, there are MSS. containing the work of Akbar's court painters, such as a copy of the Diwān of Ḥafiz in the British Museum (Grenville XLI), the Waq'at-i-Baburi, the Persian translation of the Memoirs of Babur, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Elliot, 19), and the copy of the Anwar-i-Suhayli in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, in which no attempt has been made to record the name of a single painter. When to the existing volumes decorated by Akbar's court painters are added the enormous number of those that have undoubtedly perished, for in the vast library of 24,000 volumes belonging to this Emperor there must have been a considerable number of illustrated books, of which only an insignificant proportion has escaped the devastation of war and pillage that has ruined most of the royal libraries of India, to say nothing of the ravages of white ants and other insects that have worked havoc among the remainder, and the destruction caused by damp and neglect, it is obvious that any estimate of the work of this school of painters must necessarily be incomplete.

¹ Royal Asiatic Society, no. 258.

² Akbar-namah, Victoria and Albert Museum, 64.

³ Ta'rikh-i-Khāndān-i-Timūriyyah, Bankipore, 57 b.

⁴ Shāhjahān-namah, Windsor Castle, p. 101.

⁵ Marteau et Vever, *Miniatures persanes* (Paris, 1913), Planche 161.

⁶ Akbar-namah, Victoria and Albert Museum, 62.



I

DĀSTĀN-I-AMĪR ḤAMZAH

PLATES I, 2

No. 1. Formerly the property of Mr. Gerald Reitlinger.

No. 2. Purchased from M. Georges Tabbagh.

Two leaves from the Dāstān-i-Amīr Ḥamzah.

SUBJECT AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Ḥamzah, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, an uncle of Muḥammad, was one of the chief warrior heroes of early Islamic history; but the story of his adventures, of which there are several versions, is a romantic extravaganza bearing little relation to historical facts.

The series of paintings, to which the two in this collection belong, is of supreme importance in the development of Mughal art, which is here shown in its earliest stage. Combined with obvious Persian features, the pictures show marked Indian traits. Not only is the drawing of the architecture and costumes partially Indian, but the artists are by no means primarily concerned, as in Persia, with elegant decorative effects. There is a vigour and amplitude in these pictures which is unlike anything in contemporary Persian art.

It is interesting to note, moreover, at this early stage in Mughal painting, certain European elements, especially in the treatment of trees and, generally, in the realistic landscapes.

The series can be most conveniently studied in H. Glück's finely illustrated volume, called *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes*, and in Mr. Stanley Clarke's *Indian Drawings. Twelve Mogul Paintings of the School of Humayun*, &c.

The paintings, which are in tempera on cotton cloth, are difficult to date with accuracy, but they may be placed with some confidence between the years A.D. 1549 and 1570.²

The subjects of the two paintings are as follows:

No. 1. Plate 1. Ibrāhīm, son of Ḥamzah, comes to battle seated on a throne, which is carried through the air by giants.²

The sky is a dark slate grey, and the ground is the colour of sand, with white rocks and clouds. The costumes and the ornamental horse-trappings are painted in rather sombre colours. The sky, the clouds, and the background have been partially repainted.

(68 × 45 cm.)

No. 2. Plate 2. The battle at Shissān Pass. Tayhūr, by turning a wheel, releases a torrent of water, which floods the country and drowns Hurūm.³ Another picture, from the Georges Tabbagh Collection, illustrating this episode, is reproduced in M. E. Blochet's *Musulman Painting*, plate 189.

The sky is gold, the rocks, which are unusually treated, are green, purple, blue, and brown, and the foaming dark water is minutely delineated.

(68 × 51.7 cm.)

¹ See Introduction, pp. xi, xii.

² Vide Glück, op. cit., p. 65, plate on p. 66.

³ Id., pp. 67-71.



NUJŪM AL-'ULŪM

PLATES 3-5

Purchased from Dr. F. R. Martin in 1924.

NUJŪM AL-'ULŪM, 'The Stars of the Sciences', a treatise on astronomy, astrology, and magic, followed by chapters on the horse, the elephant, and various kinds of weapons. The author's name is not given, and though diligent search has been made in the catalogues of European and Indian collections of Persian manuscripts, no record of it has been found, nor is the work mentioned in any history of Persian literature; this copy would therefore appear to be unique.

A note by a former owner, on the front page (p. 1), states that the manuscript was once the property of Sultān Ibrāhīm II of Bijāpūr (1579-1626); this prince was not only a generous patron of men of learning, notably Firishtah, the historian, and Zuhūrī, the poet, but was also himself the author of a treatise on music.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. In his preface the author explains that at the request of some of his friends he had undertaken to compile a comprehensive work on the various sciences, which he proposed to divide into fifty-three chapters. The headings of these chapters comprise such diverse subjects as music, agriculture, the sects of the Yogis, medicine, fireworks, prayer, the making of perfumes, spells, poisons, hunting, the interpretation of dreams, religious sects, love, poetical metres, precious stones, exegesis, arithmetic, astrolabes, phrenology, the prophets of God from Adam downwards, cookery, the tools of various trades, calligraphy, &c. What the subject of Chapter LIII was to have been is not stated. Of this ambitious programme, the author carried out only a small part, viz. Chapter I, on the seven heavens and their angels and the signs of the zodiac (fols. 4 b-97); then follows a section on talismans (fols. 98-171), which was originally intended to form part of Chapter XIII; then comes Chapter III (which according to the original scheme was to have been devoted to a description of the earth), on the auspicious times at which a sultan should take his seat on his throne (fols. 171 b-220); then follows a section (which according to the author's original scheme was to have been Chapter XXVI) entitled 'The calling up of high and low', i.e. an account of the magical arts by means of which the saints and others can be made to appear (fols. 221-6 b); on fol. 227 the section on the arrangements to be adopted when a sultan takes his seat on his throne is resumed, with an account of the dispositions of troops and of the influence of the planets on the fate of an army (fols. 227-39 b); next comes an enumeration of the 140 aspects of the earth, with a pictorial representation of the spiritual form of the guardian of each, and directions as to the observations that have to be taken in order to secure victory for an army, according as the date of the commencement of a battle belongs to one or the other guardian (fols. 240-313, plate 5; fols. 243 b and 245); the three last sections are devoted to the horse (fols. 313 b-33), the elephant (fols. 334-7), and weapons of war (fols. 338-48 b) respectively.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 25.8 × 16 cm.; the written surface measures 17 × 9.5 cm., slightly variable; 21 lines; 348 folios. The sizes of the miniatures vary considerably, the largest filling a whole page, and the smallest ones being those in a series of panels, each measuring 3.7 × 3 cm.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is in a neat, legible *nasta'liq*, with a frequent use of red ink for titles of sections and technical terms. The paper is of a deep cream tone, polished.



BINDING. Owing to the damaged condition of the manuscript when it was first acquired, new covers had to be supplied, and a fine specimen of Persian binding, of black leather, probably of the sixteenth century, has been employed for this purpose. Each cover has seventeen panels, deep sunk and filled with thin strips of leather, impressed with floriated ribbon patterns and gilded. An oval panel occupies the centre, with a tiny panel above and below, surrounded by a highly polished flat surface of black leather, having two corner pieces above and below; ten more panels fill up the horizontal and vertical margins. The insides of the covers are dyed red, with one central panel and four corner pieces, each filled with pierced lattice-work of dark brown leather fastened over a bright blue background.

DATE. The date of the manuscript, A.H. 978 (1570), occurs three times, on fols. 171, 334, and 348.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There are only three illuminated '*unwāns*', on fols. 221, 313 b, and 338 b; on fol. 334 there is a sketch for a fourth which has not been filled in with colours, and fol. 98 has a space, presumably for a fifth '*unwān*'. On fols. 111-14 there are blank spaces left for pictures, and on fol. 115 there is an unfinished pen-sketch for a circular disposition of troops.

There are 876 miniatures in the manuscript, and of these about 149 are diagrams or decorated tables, the remainder all containing figures, animals, birds, and other objects.

While the pictures in this manuscript were being painted some of the finest examples of Mughal art were being produced by the painters of the Emperor Akbar (1542-1605). But the style of these pictures and particularly their colouring, often of great richness, with a liberal use of gold, are quite distinct from those of the contemporary painters in Northern India, and from the scarcity of examples of the artistic activity of the painters of the Deccan it is impossible to trace very minutely the sources from which their style developed.¹ There are several characteristic features of these pictures which appear to indicate that they were executed by Hindu painters (as were indeed most of Akbar's artists); they show a predilection for the representation of Hindu divinities and an intimate acquaintance with Hindu costume. At the same time, it is obvious that the painters had studied Persian pictures, for they have borrowed many of their forms of representation from Persian art, e.g. the conventional Chinese cloud that persisted in Persian painting for many centuries (see fols. 15 b-21 b), the flame halo, which was likewise an importation into Persia (see fol. 223 b), the wings of the angels and jinns (see fols. 119, 5 b-11); the representation of the planet Mars (fol. 27 b) copies the familiar head-dress of Rustam, as found in innumerable copies of the *Shāh-nāmā*, just as that of the Sun (fol. 22) is reminiscent of Bahrām Gūr and his two lions in the same epic. But despite these foreign influences, on the whole the illustrations in this manuscript display an originality that assigns to them a position peculiar to themselves; nowhere else in Indian painting is found such a series of delicately executed panels as on fols. 22 b-52 b, with their abundant variety of imaginative detail, representing the signs of the zodiac and their various degrees (plate 3, fols. 44 b and 45). The very subject-matter of the greater part of the work, dealing as it does with magic and incantations, provides material for imaginative treatment such as the Indian artist seldom had an opportunity of exercising his skill upon. From fol. 116 to fol. 126, and on

¹ [See the article on these illustrations by Dr. Laurence Binyon in *Rupam*, no. 29, pp. 4-5, and Dr. Coomaraswamy's note in no. 31 of the same. Executed probably in Bijapur, they are unique examples of a type of sixteenth-century Deccani art formed, apparently, by a direct blending of Persian and indigenous elements; there is little evidence, at least, of the influence of contemporary Mughal work, to which they are, for the most part, superior in design and in decorative

quality. They are clearly by several hands. It is interesting to note that there is at the India Office, London, a later Deccani manuscript containing a Deccani verse-translation of the Persian *Khāwar-nāmā* (Johnson Collection, P. 834), in which, together with many illustrations reminiscent of late Safawi Persian examples (mainly in details of costume), are a number with clear affinities to some of those in the present manuscript.]



fol. 223 b and fol. 225 are pictures of the magician seated within his magic square or circle and calling up by means of his spells angels, saints, fairies, and women.

One of the finest pictures (fol. 191, plate 4 (a)) represents the king seated on an elaborate throne, seven stories high; the text explains that if a throne of this type is constructed of trees cut under a favourable conjunction of the planets and in accordance with specific directions, the king will enjoy a prosperous reign of many years and will become a world-conqueror. The whole structure is supported by four elephants, on whose backs stand tigers, lifting up the feet of the throne. On the two lower stages and around the edges of the throne are a number of growling tigers. The total number of these rampant beasts is sixty-four, of whom sixteen are painted blue while the rest are yellow or gilt. On the next stage are two elephants with mahouts, and two chariots, each drawn by a single horse. Above is a quatrefoil ornament, flanked by two peacocks—which, it is true, do not much resemble these birds, but they are mentioned in the instructions for the making of the throne. The fifth stage contains six men seated on the ground, engaged in conversation. For the sixth stage special directions are given in the text; it is to contain figures of Bhils, the jungle folk who hunt with bows and arrows, accompanied by their wives; these are seen on the left, while opposite them on the right are some of the singers and dancers, the representation of whom is also expressly enjoined. The uppermost stage is filled with palm trees, among which stand two women, and behind, under a canopy of leaves, sits the king, for whose honour and glory this throne has been constructed.

This picture and those showing the disposition of the king's army (fols. 232, plate 4 (b), to 233 b) are filled with a number of tiny figures, carefully and delicately delineated, in a manner that suggests the influence of the crowded compositions on the walls of Hindu temples in Central and Southern India. In the picture of the army on the march (fol. 232) there are as many as 188 tiny figures of soldiers, some on foot, others riding on horses or elephants or in bullock carts.

Note.—Another example of this text forms part of the present Collection. It bears the same date as the manuscript described above, and it is, apparently, a copy of this original. The illustrations, which are incomplete, may also have been copied from those in this manuscript. It is written in a neat *naskhī*.

3

AKBAR-NĀMAH

PLATES 6–37.

(Plates 19, 25, 34, and 36, and frontispiece to Vol. II in colour.)

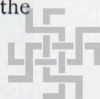
Purchased from Quaritch in 1923.

Akbar-nāmah, the life of the Emperor Akbar by Abu'l-Fazl.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The well-known life of Akbar by his devoted friend and prime minister, Abu'l-Fazl, is carried up to the early part of the year 1602, the date of the author's death. This manuscript contains Book II and part of Book III, up to that part of the text which corresponds to p. 264 in Book III of the printed edition¹ in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1873–86); in this edition there are 580 more pages of text. A translation of the work has been made by Mr. Henry Beveridge and is appearing in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1897 to date).² This manuscript may well be one of the

¹ Referred to, below, as Text.

² Referred to, below, as Trans.



volumes carried off into Persia by Nadir Shah from the Royal Library of Delhi, and like several other such volumes it was reset and re-bound by its new owners.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 43 × 26 cm.; the written surface measures 24 × 13 cm.; 22 lines; 268 folios. The paintings generally occupy the whole page, a few have a line or two of text above and below.

The manuscript was foliated at an early date in red figures written inside the ruled colour lines at the bottom of the text, beginning with fol. 20 of this copy, which received the number 198, and the enumeration was carried on continuously up to the last folio, 511. Another numbering on the lower margin of the paper, in which the original manuscript was at a later date reset, was added afterwards, beginning likewise with fol. 20 of this copy, which received the number 192; but this work was carelessly carried out, for, whereas fol. 22 is consistently numbered 200 according to the first enumeration and 194 according to the second, fol. 26 receives 199 as its second number, and further discrepancies were allowed to creep in until, instead of the original difference of six, there is a difference of twenty, and the last folio, 511, received as its second number 491.

The pictures also have a separate enumeration, in the left-hand margin; it begins on fol. 23 b with number 56, and if it may be assumed that the numbering of the pictures was properly carried out, the following pictures are lacking: 59-61, 64-6, 68-70, 74, 78, 79, 82, 86-94, 106-8, 113, 114, 119-21, 124-9, 133-7, 140-3, 146-50, 154, 155, 157, and 159.

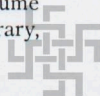
WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear and elegant *nasta'liq*, with the headings of the chapters written sometimes in gold and sometimes in red. The text is enclosed within lines of red, green, gold, and blue. The paper is of a light brown tone, well polished, and set within margins of a lighter toned paper.

BINDING. The whole manuscript has been reset within broad margins of a paper of a lighter shade than that of the original sheets. This was probably done when the volume received its present binding, which was executed by Muḥammad Zamān 'Abbāsī, whose name occurs at the bottom of the inside of the right-hand cover.

The outside of each cover has a central panel (32 × 16 cm.) of tooled leather, richly gilt. The design, which is similar in each case, represents trees, animals, and birds, such as frequently occur on the margins of Persian manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in the foreground, a lion has just slain a large mountain-goat, while, a little higher up, on the left, a lioness looks on at a wild boar galloping away in terror; among the other animals are deer and jackals; a crane is wading through a pond at the bottom, while, at the top, among clouds represented in the traditional manner borrowed from the Chinese, is a graceful flight of three cranes. Around this central panel is a border composed of six sunken panels, filled in with stamped and gilded leather, and four small quatrefoils also of stamped leather, with a dark brown design on a gold background. The insides of the covers are decorated with thin gilt paper, cut out in a conventionalized pattern of branches and leaves, displayed in a formal design on a blue background. The panelled border corresponds with that of the outside cover.

DATE AND SCRIBE. As the colophon of the manuscript is lacking, it is not possible to ascertain the exact year in which the work was completed, but it was probably some time between 1602, when Abu'l-Fazl made his last addition to his writing of the Akbar-nāmah, and 1605, the date of Akbar's death. It is quite possible that the whole work took several years to execute.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The sumptuous character of this volume and the care devoted to the decoration indicate that it was intended for the royal library.



and some of the greatest of Akbar's court painters were employed in illustrating it. There are two 'unwāns, one at the beginning of Book II (fol. 1 b of the manuscript), and the other at the beginning of Book III (fol. 177 b). These are somewhat similar in character, each consisting of a rectangular panel surmounted by an arched headpiece with finials. The ground of the first panel is dark blue with three gold medallions. The second has blue half-medallions with red scroll-leaf designs, on a gold ground. The arched headpieces have gold and blue grounds. Both 'unwāns are profusely ornamented with coloured flower and scroll-leaf designs.

The sixty-one paintings exhibit greater delicacy of execution and more refinement of colouring than those in the Akbar-nāmah in the Indian Museum, South Kensington—the only other copy known to exist with illustrations by Akbar's artists. They represent a much more practised and polished art than the earlier productions of Akbar's reign. The artists have overcome their former crudity, colouring is more harmonious, designs are more satisfactorily equilibrated, and most of the characteristics associated with the reign of Jahāngir have made their appearance.

The names of the painters who took part in the production of this great work of art are Aḥmad, Anant, Bāl Chand, Dawlat, Dhan Rāj, Dharm Dās, Farrukh, Govardhan, 'Ināyat, Khem Karan, La'l, Mādhu, Manohar, Mir Taqī, Mukund, Nar Singh, Padārath, Sānwlah, Shankar, and Sūr Dās. Examples of the workmanship of each of these are to be found in other manuscripts, with the exception of Mir Taqī, whose name has not hitherto been recorded in any list of the painters of this school. In the following descriptions of the individual pictures, the references are to the corresponding passages in the Text and Translation of the Akbar-nāmah, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

- (1) fol. 1. Plate 6. *By Mādhu*. Unnumbered.

The coronation of Akbar, 14th February 1556.

(18 × 13 cm.) (Text, II, p. 3; Trans. II, p. 5.)

- (2) fol. 6 b. Plate 7. *By La'l*. Unnumbered.

(22 × 13.5 cm.)

- (3) fol. 7. Plate 8. *By La'l*. Unnumbered.

A double-page illustration. The arrest of Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, on suspicion of disloyalty, at a feast given by Akbar on the third day after his accession.

(24 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 16; Trans. II, p. 28.)

- (4) fol. 10 b. Plate 9. *By Shankar*. Unnumbered.

(19 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 24; Trans. II, p. 41.)

- (5) fol. 11. Plate 10. *By Shankar*. Unnumbered.

A double-page illustration. Mun'im Khān, the governor of Kābul, besieged in that city by Mirzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān, cousin of Akbar.

(24.5 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 25 *fin.*; Trans. II, p. 43.)

- (6) fol. 18. Plate 11. *By Shankar*. Unnumbered.

The capture of Hēmū, who disputed Akbar's claim to the throne of Delhi, and the defeat of his army in the battle of Pānīpat, 5th November 1556.

(23 × 12.3 cm.) (Text, II, p. 40 *fin.*; Trans. II, p. 65.)

- (7) fol. 19. Plate 12. *By Padārath*. Unnumbered.

Hēmū is brought bound before Akbar, and Bayrām Khān, Akbar's guardian, bids the young prince slay his defeated rival.

(22.6 × 12.4 cm.) (Text, II, p. 42; Trans. II, p. 66.)

- (8) fol. 23 b. *By Aḥmad*. No. 56.

The treacherous attempt made by Bahādur Khān to take possession of Qandahar.

which Akbar had left in charge of Shāh Muḥammad when he himself marched into India. A spy (seen hiding on the left of the picture) gave information that the soldiers of Bahādur Khān were lying in ambush, and they were repulsed by a sortie of Shāh Muḥammad's troops from the city.

(25 × 13 cm.) (Text, II, p. 52; Trans. II, p. 82.)

- (9) fol. 25. Plate 13. *By Dhan Rāj*. No. 57.

Akbar receiving his mother, Ḥamīdah Bānū, on her arrival in India.

(24.5 × 12.8 cm.) (Text, II, p. 55; Trans. II, p. 86.)

- (10) fol. 27 b. Plate 14. *By Lāl*. No. 58. (Another hand has written in the right-hand corner of the picture, 'Kishan Dās'.)

The keys of the fort of Mānkot being surrendered to Akbar in May 1557.

(25 × 13.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 59; Trans. II, p. 91.)

- { (11) fol. 32 b. Plate 15. *By Farrukh; faces by Manohar and Anant*. No. 62.
(21.5 × 12.5 cm.)

- { (12) fol. 33. *By Farrukh; faces by Mukund*. No. 63.

A double-page illustration. A raging elephant, named Lakhna, trying to throw the Emperor Akbar when his foot had become caught in the rope round the elephant's neck; the spectators flee in terror.

(24 × 12.8 cm.) (Text, II, p. 74; Trans. II, p. 114.)

- (13) fol. 49 b. Plate 16. *By Govardhan*. No. 67.

Akbar receiving his younger brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and decorating him with a robe of honour, after his defeat of Bayrām Khān in 1560. (Other manuscripts of the Akbar-nāmah ascribe this victory to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah, Akbar's foster-father.)

(24 × 12.8 cm.) (Text, II, p. 114; Trans. II, p. 174.)

- (14) fol. 52. *By Dawlat*. No. 71.

Akbar catching a cheetah in a pit, dug according to a special plan of his own, while on his march from the Panjāb to Delhi in 1560.

(19-19.8 × 12 cm.) (Text, II, p. 121; Trans. II, p. 186.)

- { (15) fol. 53 b. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 72.
(23.5 × 12 cm.)

- { (16) fol. 54. Plate 17. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 73.

A double-page illustration. The reception by Akbar of the ambassadors sent by Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān, at the banquet given by Mun'im Khān, in celebration of the submission of Bayrām Khān, in January 1561.

(22.5 × 12.2 cm.) (Text, II, p. 123; Trans. II, p. 188.)

- (17) fol. 57. Plate 18. *By Manohar*. No. 75.

Courtiers waiting outside the palace, to hear news of Akbar's health, when early in 1561 he was suffering from chicken-pox.

(23.8 × 12.3 cm.) (Text, II, p. 123 *med.*; Trans. II, pp. 205-6.)

- (18) fol. 59. *By Lāl*. No. 76.

The assault of the city of Sārangpūr, and the capture of some of the women of Bāz Bahādur, Sultan of Mālwa; the funeral pyre of others of his women, who had been put to death by his orders before the fall of the city, is visible in the background.

(24 × 12 cm.) (Text, II, pp. 136-7; Trans. II, pp. 212-13.)

- (19) fol. 60. *By Lāl*. No. 77.

Rūpmati, the favourite of Bāz Bahādur, endeavouring to escape from Sārangpūr, on hearing of the defeat of her lover, the Sultan; when she realized that her capture was imminent she took poison and died rather than fall into the hands of Akbar's troops.

(22.5 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 137; Trans. II, pp. 213-14.)



- (20) fol. 71 b. *By Sānwalah.* No. 80.
The army of Akbar advancing to the attack on the village of Paronkh, in which a band of brigands have established themselves.
(19.5 × 12.3 cm.) (Text, II, p. 164 *fin.*; Trans. II, p. 254.)
- (21) fol. 72. *By La'l.* No. 81.
Akbar, on his elephant Dilshankar, making an assault on the village of Paronkh. Jujhār Khān was riding behind the emperor on the elephant, when a boy of 15, terrified, jumped from the top of a roof on to the back of the elephant, and Jujhār Khān was about to kill him, when Akbar bade him spare the boy's life.
(24 × 13 cm.) (Text, II, p. 165; Trans. II, p. 254.)
- (22) fol. 78 b. *By La'l.* No. 83.
The conquest of the country of the Rājā of Pannah by Khwājah 'Abd al-Majid Āṣaf Khān, one of Akbar's generals.
(23 × 12.2 cm.) (Text, II, pp. 181-2; Trans. II, pp. 281-2.)
- (23) fol. 79. *By La'l.* No. 84.
The Rājā of Pannah, fleeing from Āṣaf Khān, takes refuge in the fortress of Bāndhu.
(23.3 × 12.2 cm.) (Text, II, p. 183; Trans. II, p. 282 *fin.*)
- (24) fol. 84. *By Sūr Dās.* No. 85.
Defeat of the army of the Gakhars and capture of their chieftain, Sulṭān Ādam, by the imperial forces under the command of Kamāl Khān.
(23.3 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, pp. 193-4; Trans. II, pp. 299-300.)
- (25) fol. 122 b. Plate 19 (colour). *By Sānwalah.* No. 95.
(23 × 13.6 cm.)
- (26) fol. 123. Plate 20. *By Dharm Dās.* No. 96.
A double-page illustration. Akbar giving thanks for the defeat of the rebel, 'Alī Qulī Uzbek, whose head is seen lying at his feet; the officers of the rebel army are being brought before him as prisoners.
(21.8 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 295; Trans. II, p. 434.)
- (27) fol. 133. *By Aḥmad.* No. 97.
Akbar at the siege of Chitor, in 1568. A shot from his gun killed Jaimal, the governor of the fort, and on the following day it was taken by assault, the elephants leading the way through a breach that had been made in the wall a short time before.
(24.3 × 13.8 cm.) (Text, II, p. 320; Trans. II, pp. 471-2.)
- (28) fol. 134. *By Aḥmad.* No. 98.
The fort of Chitor being taken by assault; inside, the women are seen immolating themselves on a funeral pyre.
(24.8 × 13.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 321; Trans. II, pp. 472-3.)
- (29) fol. 142 b. *By La'l.* No. 99.
The birth of Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr, 30th August 1569.
(16.5 × 13.8 cm.)
- (30) fol. 143 b. Plate 21. As the margins of this picture have been closely cut, both the name of the painter and the original number are lost.
Rejoicings at the birth of Salim. Money and bread are being distributed to the poor; dancing-girls and musicians display their skill; and learned men draw up the horoscope of the baby prince.
(24.5 × 14 cm.) (Text, II, pp. 344-5; Trans. II, pp. 504-5.)



- { (31) fol. 147 b. Plate 22. *By Dharm Dās*. No. 101.
(24 × 14.5 cm.)

- { (32) fol. 148. Plate 23. *By Dharm Dās*. No. 102.

A double-page illustration. Mun'im Khān comes to court from Jaunpūr to congratulate Akbar on the birth of Prince Shāh Murād on the 7th of June, 1570. Among the courtiers present on this occasion is a European with a bald head. The only Europeans who are known to have visited the court of Akbar, with the exception of the Jesuit missionaries (who are represented in clerical costume on fol. 263 b, plate 36), were John Newbery and his companions, who were at Fathpur Sikrī in 1585, and John Mildenhall, who had an interview with Akbar at Agra in 1603 and stayed there until after Akbar's death in 1605. Newbery was a London merchant who brought with him a letter of recommendation from Queen Elizabeth, and was accompanied by a jeweller, named William Leedes, and another London merchant, Ralph Fitch, who returned by sea to London in 1591 through Bengal and Burma and afterwards wrote an account of their visit. Newbery started off for Lahore, intending to travel overland through Persia; but neither he nor Leedes, who entered Akbar's service, was ever heard of again. Mildenhall was a merchant who carried a letter from Queen Elizabeth requesting Akbar to grant trading privileges in his empire to the subjects of the Queen of England equal to those enjoyed by the Portuguese; he appears to have been amply supplied with money and to have been well received at court.

No portrait of either of these Englishmen is known to exist; the identification of the European in this picture is therefore a matter of conjecture. But his undignified appearance, with his head bare, at a period when persons of good social status, in the West as well as in the East, seldom appeared in public with their heads uncovered, suggests that he occupies some menial position, and that it is not intended here to represent the envoy of a foreign prince or the bearer of a missive from his sovereign. The Mughal court artists frequently painted pictures of the reception of ambassadors, and they appear to have considered that a dignified presentation of the ambassador enhanced the respect due to their royal master. Moreover, it was the general practice of both Persian and Indian painters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to draw Europeans with their hats on. It is probable therefore that we have here a portrait of William Leedes; he must have been a familiar figure in the court of Akbar at the period when this picture was painted, though he had not yet reached India at the date of the incident here represented; but such anachronisms did not trouble the painters of this period, and the visit of Mun'im Khān was not an occasion of such importance as to make the presence of a person of inferior social status appear incongruous.

(23.5 × 13 cm.) (Text, II, p. 356 *init.*; Trans. II, p. 515.)

- { (33) fol. 152 b. *By Bāl Chand*. No. 103.
(24.2 × 14 cm.)

- { (34) fol. 153. Plate 24. *By Bāl Chand*. No. 104.

A double-page illustration. The building of the city of Fathpur Sikrī, which was Akbar's capital from 1571 to 1585.

(24 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, II, p. 365; Trans. II, p. 531.)

- (35) fol. 155 b. Plate 25 (colour). *By Mukund*. No. 105.

Akbar hunting with cheetahs, while his army was encamped at Sangānīr, on his way to the conquest of Gujarāt, in 1572.

(19.5 × 13.3 cm.) (Text, II, p. 371; Trans. II, p. 539.)

- (36) fol. 157 b. Plate 26. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 109.

(23.7 × 13 cm.)



- (37) fol. 158. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 110.

A double-page illustration. Akbar, during his campaign in Gujarāt, receiving the homage of I'timād Khān and other nobles of that country.

(24.2 × 13 cm.) (Text, III, p. 7; Trans. III, p. 10.)

- (38) fol. 162 b. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 111.

(23.8 × 13 cm.)

- (39) fol. 163. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 112.

A double-page illustration. Akbar, during his campaign in Gujarāt, pursuing the defeated army of Ibrāhīm Husayn Mīrẓā across country covered with thorn bushes. Akbar has made his horse jump over the thorn bushes and is thus in advance of his companions.

(24 × 13 cm.) (Text, III, p. 15; Trans. III, p. 21.)

- (40) fol. 168 b. Plate 28. *By Dawlat*. No. 115.

(24 × 13 cm.)

- (41) fol. 169. Plate 27. *By Dawlat*. No. 116.

A double-page illustration. An incident that occurred at a select drinking-party, when the conversation turned upon the bravery of the Rajputs; it was said that to show their contempt for death two of them would run from opposite sides against the points of a double-headed spear, so that the points would transfix both of them and come out at their backs. Akbar apparently proposed to run upon his sword in a similar manner, and had already fixed the hilt into a wall, when Rājā Mān Singh knocked it down, but it cut Akbar's thumb and forefinger. In anger Akbar threw Mān Singh upon the ground, but Sayyid Muzaffar rescued him by twisting the Emperor's wounded finger and so making him loosen his hold on the Rājā's throat.

(24 × 13 cm.) (Text, III, p. 31; Trans. III, p. 44.)

- (42) fol. 176 b. *By Govardhan*. No. 117.

(24 × 13.5 cm.)

- (43) fol. 177. Frontispiece to Vol. II. (Colour.) *By Govardhan*. No. 118.

A double-page illustration. Abū'l-Fazl presenting the second volume of the Akbar-nāmah to Akbar.

(24 × 13.5 cm.) (Trans. II, p. 576. This passage does not occur in the text printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.)

- (44) fol. 187 b. Plate 30. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 122.

(21.5 × 12.6 cm.)

- (45) fol. 188. Plate 29. *By Sūr Dās*. No. 123.

A double-page illustration. Defeat of the army of Muḥammad Husayn Mīrẓā near Aḥmadābād, in September 1573. During the battle Akbar was wounded in the thigh by one of the enemy who struck him with a sword.

(13 × 12.2 cm.) (Text, III, p. 57; Trans. III, p. 81.)

- (46) fol. 201. Plate 31. *By Govardhan*. No. 130.

Akbar granting audience to the chief officers of his army before attacking the fortress of Ḥājipūr, on the river Ganges opposite Patna, in 1574.

(23 × 13.3 cm.) (Text, III, p. 96; Trans. III, p. 135.)

- (47) fol. 202 b. *By Mukund*. No. 131.

Akbar making an assault on the fortress of Ḥājipūr by river, with boats filled with armed men.

(19.5 × 12.3 cm.) (Text, III, p. 99 *imit.*; Trans. III, p. 138.)

- (48) fol. 203. No. 132. Owing to the margin having been cut away the name of the painter is lost.



The taking of the fortress of Ḥājīpūr; some of the garrison are seen escaping through a gate, on the left.

(20.8 × 12.3 cm.) (Text, III, p. 99; Trans. III, p. 139.)

- (49) fol. 212 (still in the manuscript). *By Manohar*. No. 138.

The flight of the army of Dā'ud, who had set himself up as an independent sovereign in Bengal, after the battle of Tukaroi, in March 1576.

(19.5 × 12.8 cm.) (Text, III, p. 126; Trans. III, p. 179.)

- (50) fol. 212 b (still in the manuscript). *By Manohar*. No. 139.

Mun'im Khān, after defeating the army of Dā'ud at Tukaroi, encamped near the battle-field, where he erected pillars of the heads of his enemies.

(14 × 12.6 cm.) (Text, III, p. 127 *init.*; Trans. III, p. 180.)

- { (51) fol. 226 b. Plate 32. *By Dharm Dās*. No. 144.

(19.4 × 13.4 cm.)

- { (52) fol. 227. *By Khem Karan*. No. 145.

A double-page illustration. Shāhbāz Khān captures the stone fort called Dunāra, in which some Rajputs of the Rāthor clan had entrenched themselves, in 1576.

(19.5 × 13.5 cm.) (Text, III, p. 167 *fin.*; Trans. III, p. 238.)

- (53) fol. 230. *By 'Ināyat Khānah-zād*. No. 148.

Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān brings Akbar news of the conquest of Bengal, and throws down the head of Dā'ud.

(21.7 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, III, pp. 177–8; Trans. III, p. 249.)

- (54) fol. 245. Plate 33. *By Mukund*. No. 151.

Akbar being weighed by the officers of his court against gold and other articles, in 1577.

(19.6 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, III, p. 216; Trans. III, p. 304.)

- { (55) fol. 247 b. *By Mir Taqī*. No. 152.

(22.1 × 12.3 cm.)

- { (56) fol. 248. Plate 34 (colour). *By Mir Taqī*. No. 153.

A double-page illustration. Akbar breaking in an elephant. While Akbar was encamped at Ajmir in 1577, ambassadors from the Sultan of Golkonda arrived bringing presents, among which was an elephant, called Faṭḥ Mubārak; he was so violent that the professional mahouts were afraid of him, but Akbar quickly mounted him and reduced him to obedience.

(22.2 × 12.8 cm.) (Text, III, p. 221 *init.*; Trans. III, p. 310.)

- (57) fol. 252. *By Khem Karan*. No. 154.

The defeat of Rājā Madhukar by Ṣādiq Khān.

(21.6 × 13.2 cm.) (Text, III, pp. 230–1; Trans. III, p. 326.)

- { (58) fol. 255 b. Plate 35. *By Dharm Dās*. No. 156.

(16.3 × 12.6 cm.)

- { (59) fol. 256. *By Khem Karan*. No. 157.

A double-page illustration. Shāhbāz Khān marching to the assault of the fortress of Kumbhalmēr in Rajputana, which was defended by the troops of the Rāna of Mewār.

(21.5 × 12.5 cm.) (Text, III, p. 238; Trans. III, p. 340.)

- (60) fol. 263 b. Plate 36 (colour). *By Nar Singh*. No. 158.

Rudolfo Aquaviva and another Jesuit, doubtless his companion Antonio Monserrate,¹

¹ [Or possibly Henriquez. Of the three members of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580–3) Aquaviva was an Italian, Monserrate a Spaniard, and Henriquez a Persian. Aquaviva was a young man, having been born in 1559, Monserrate being some thirteen years older. The designation 'Pādri Rudolf, one of the Nazarene learned men' occurs in the text above the picture.

For the proposed ordeal by fire, and the historians' different accounts of the incident, see MacLagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–2, and Binyon, *Akbar* (London, 1932), pp. 98–100. For references to representations of the Jesuit fathers in Mughal painting see MacLagan, *ib.*, pp. 257–8. J. V. S. W.]

sitting in the 'Ibādat-khānah, or 'House of worship', and offering to enter the fire with the Gospels in their hands, if the Muhammadan theologians with the Qur'an would do the same.

(22.5 × 12.4 cm.) (Text, III, p. 254; Trans. III, p. 368.)

(61) fol. 268 b. Plate 37. By 'Ināyat. No. 160.

Muzaffar Khān taking leave of Akbar on being nominated to the government of Bengal, in March 1579. (The small child by the side of Akbar's throne is probably Sultān Murād, who in the text is stated to have reached the age of eight in that year, whereupon arrangements were made for his education.)

(22.5 × 13 cm.) (Text, III, p. 265 *fin.*; Trans. III, p. 386.)

4

'IYĀR-I-DĀNISH

PLATES 38-47

(Plates 38, 42, and 46 in colour.)

Purchased from Luzac & Co., London, in 1924.

A late sixteenth-century manuscript of the 'Iyār-i-Dānish, 'The Criterion of Knowledge', a Persian version of the Arabic collection of stories entitled *Kalilah wa Dimnah*.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The original Sanskrit work, which is no longer extant, was probably written by a Brahman in Kashmir about A.D. 300. Translations were made into most of the literary languages of Asia, and from the thirteenth century onwards into almost all the languages of Europe, beginning with the Latin translation, *Directorium humanae vitae*, by John of Capua, from the Hebrew version. The best-known Persian version was that by Husayn Wā'iz-i-Kāshifī (*ob.* 1504), entitled *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*, but this was written in such a florid style, full of recondite words and far-fetched comparisons, that the Emperor Akbar instructed his prime minister, Abu'l-Fazl, to make a version in a simpler style, so that the book might become more generally accessible and useful to a larger number of readers. Abu'l-Fazl, in his preface, states that he completed his task on 10th July 1588. The work has never been published, and illustrated copies of it are rare. The original purpose of the book was to instruct princes in the laws of polity, by means of fables, in which the personages are for the most part animals; they converse with one another and introduce a number of stories into the midst of their conversation, in order to emphasize the particular line of argument they are pursuing at the time. Abu'l-Fazl's version begins with a preface written by himself in which he explains the reasons why Akbar wished a new Persian version to be prepared, and ends with a eulogy of his master. He then restores the two prefaces from the Arabic version, which had been omitted by his predecessor Husayn Wā'iz-i-Kāshifī, and divides the rest of the work into fourteen chapters, as follows:

- (1) On refusing to listen to the tales of slanderers;
- (2) On the punishment that befalls evil-doers and their bad end;
- (3) On the advantages of intimacy with friends;
- (4) On observing the behaviour of enemies and being secure from their treachery;
- (5) On the evils of negligence and of neglect of one's purpose, and of procrastination in following it out;



- (6) On the evils of hastiness in action ;
- (7) On foresight and escaping by means of stratagems from one's enemies ;
- (8) On being on one's guard against malicious persons and avoiding confidence in their flattery ;
- (9) On pardoning offenders, which is the noblest attribute of kings ;
- (10) On retribution ;
- (11) On the evils of greed and neglect of one's proper business ;
- (12) On the excellence of knowledge, patience, and deliberation, especially for kings ;
- (13) On the necessity of kings disregarding the advice of the treacherous and malevolent ;
- (14) On being unconcerned at the vicissitudes of fortune.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 19.6 × 12.8 cm. ; the written surface measures (generally) 13 × 6 cm. ; 25-7 lines ; 103 folios. A great many pages of the original manuscript are lost, including those at the beginning and at the end, and it is not now possible to ascertain what the exact number originally was. The miniatures are painted round three sides (sometimes only two) of the column of script: the largest measures 18.3 × 11.2 cm., and the smallest 7.7 × 9 cm.

BINDING. At some time in the late eighteenth century the manuscript was re-bound in commonplace covers that call for no special notice. Unfortunately the margins of the manuscript were ruthlessly cut, and the names of the painters of many of the miniatures have thus been destroyed.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a small but clear *nasta'liq*, with headings of chapters and indications of verses in red. The paper is thin and polished, of a biscuit tone, set within margins of a similar tone.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date is nowhere given in any part of the manuscript that still remains, and unfortunately the colophon is among the missing pages. But as many of the pictures bear the names of some of the most famous artists who worked for Akbar (*ob.* A.D. 1605), and as the translator states that he completed his work in 1588, the manuscript was probably produced towards the close of the sixteenth century. This would appear also from the style of the illustrations.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There is no decoration in what remains of the manuscript.

It appears from the old numbering on the existing paintings that these were originally 164 in number, or possibly more. Of these, however, only ninety-six have survived.

The pictures in this manuscript are among the finest examples of the work of Akbar's court painters. As this translation had been prepared by Abu'l-Fazl at the express command of his imperial master, it may be conjectured that the court painters were instructed to produce a copy of the work that should be suitable for presentation to the sovereign. From the signatures of the artists that remain it appears that as many as thirty-four different painters contributed towards the illustration of this manuscript ; but as only fifty out of the total number of 164 pictures still retain the names of the painters who executed them, it is probable that the lost names that once indicated the authorship of the remaining 114 pictures included a number of other artists. The names that can still be read are : Anant (9, 61, 75), Āṣī (22, 51), Bandī Kalān (53), Banwārī Kalān (83), Banwārī Khurd (71), Bhīm Gujarātī (72, 73), Dawlat (3), Dhannū (89), Dharm Dās Tūnrah (33, 92), Ibrāhīm (91), Kamālī Jibillah (28), Kesū Khurd (7), Kesū Gujarātī (62, 82), Khem Khurd (74, 84), Mādhu Kalān (94), Makrā (69), Manī (23, 31), Nanā (Nānah) (6, 86), Nand (90), Pak (50), Paras (47), Sānwāh (67), Shankar (38), Shankar Gujarātī (78), Sheo Dās (60, 63), Sheo Rāj Gujarātī (30, 39), Shyām (19, 25, 93), Surjan (32, 34), Thirpal (68), and Tulsi (66). Of these it is

possible that Kesū Khurd and Kesū Gujarātī are one and the same person; also Shankar and Shankar Gujarātī. In a few other cases there is ground for conjecture that the names of the following artists are also indicated: Bākīr (81, 85), Jagannāth (52), Sūr Dās (54), and Tiriyyā (40, 43).

Among the names that have not hitherto been noted as being among the court-painters of Akbar are Bākīr, Kamālī Jibillah, Pāk, and Sheo Rāj Gujarātī. With one or two exceptions the names of all the painters indicate that they were Hindus, and it is no doubt partially owing to this fact that the pictures exhibit such a sympathetic insight into all forms of animal life, and enter so completely into the spirit of this book, which makes animals and birds behave and discourse just as if they were human beings; such a sympathetic inclusion of animals and human beings within the same family group is characteristic of all Hindu thought and literature. The miniatures as a whole are more ambitious and varied than is usual in the fable books; the colouring is very felicitous, especially in the many subjects of animals in forest scenery. Bright colour effects are not usually attempted. The painters have obviously devoted careful study to the forms and colours of the various birds and animals they represent, and there is often superadded an emotional expression that is almost human; particularly is this the case with the jackals and foxes, who are interested and often cynical observers of many of the incidents represented; even the crow, who plays a part in the story illustrated in pictures 12-16, 20-1, 25-9, is with considerable skill made to express the emotions appropriate to each phase of the story. The natural features of the landscape are often charmingly represented, and various kinds of trees are easily recognizable; a certain amount of care is also devoted to sky effects (e.g. the cumulus clouds in nos. 2 and 3); but when rocks have to appear in the picture, there is seldom any attempt at fidelity to nature, and they are piled up in fantastic shapes, even (as in no. 3) being drawn so as to present grotesque faces.¹ As illustrations these pictures generally correspond closely to the text and are, indeed, often unintelligible without reference to it; it is unusual for the painter to deviate so far from it as in no. 42, where the army of the bears is represented as a troop of mail-clad warriors mounted on war-horses.

The following are the subjects of the individual pictures:²

- (1) A painter in Kashmir, having fallen in love with the wife of his neighbour, a rich merchant, painted a cloak black and white to serve as a sign of his identity. One day when the painter had gone out his slave borrowed the cloak from the painter's daughter, and in this disguise visited the merchant's wife. The painter on his return discovered what had happened, burned the cloak, and discontinued his intrigue with the merchant's wife. The lady in green and yellow is presumably the merchant's wife, and the other lady the painter's daughter. The tall figure in the right-hand corner of the picture, whose piety is indicated by his rosary and the general character of his costume, does not come into the story, and is either intended to represent the merchant, or to stand for the condemnation which the author passes on the painter's conduct.
- (2) *By Dawlat.* A king, while hunting, comes across three persons of envious disposition who because of jealousy of their neighbours have left their homes and agreed to travel together. On the road they find a purse full of money, and are quarrelling over it when the king rides up.
- (3) *By Dawlat.* The king, in order to punish them for the sin of envy, orders the head of one to be cut off, the second to be stripped of his clothes and driven bare-foot and bare-headed into the desert, and the third to be covered with pitch and left to perish miserably.

¹ A not uncommon practice in Indian, as in Persian, painting.

² As the manuscript is in a fragmentary state, the folio numbers have not been recorded.



- (4) Kalilah and Dimnah are two jackals in the service of the king, the lion. Jealous of the favour which the king shows to the ox, Dimnah, by means of slanderous reports, persuades the lion to kill the ox. The lion afterwards repents of his hasty action and orders Dimnah to be kept in chains until his trial can be held. Here, Kalilah is represented as visiting his friend in chains. Behind Dimnah is another prisoner, a jackal also chained, of whom no mention is made in the story.
- (5) The lion addressing the animals who are to conduct the trial of Dimnah.
- (6) *By Nānā.* An incompetent physician, who through his ignorance has caused the death of the king's daughter by administering to her poison instead of a healing medicine, is made to drink the rest of the poison himself; he is here represented as dying in agonies on the ground.
- (7) *By Kesū Khurd.* A certain merchant has a beautiful wife, with whom one of his slaves, a falconer from Balkh, falls in love; when she takes no notice of him, he plots to take revenge upon her. He procures two parrots and teaches each of them a sentence in the language of Balkh, reflecting on the honour of his mistress. He presents these parrots to the merchant, who is ignorant of the language of Balkh but takes a great fancy to the birds and likes to hear them talk.
- (8) One day some persons from Balkh come as guests of the merchant and are horrified to hear what the parrots say. The merchant observing their embarrassment inquires the reason and they tell him what they have heard the parrots say. Hereupon the falconer offers to give evidence on the matter, and the merchant orders his wife to be put to death.
- (9) *By Anant.* The merchant's wife pleads for delay and asks that her case may be investigated; she urges that if it is ascertained that these are the only two sentences in the language of Balkh that the parrots can utter, it will be obvious that the parrots have learned them from the treacherous falconer. This is found to be the case.
- (10) *By Dharm Dās Tūnrah.* The merchant orders the falconer to be confronted with his wife. He repeats his slanderous accusation, and immediately the hawk on his wrist attacks him and pecks out his eyes, and the honour of the lady is vindicated.
- (11) Plate 38(a) (colour). The lion passes sentence on Dimnah for having treacherously compassed the death of the ox; accordingly Dimnah is tied to a stake and left to perish of hunger and thirst.
- (12) Plate 39(a). The crow sees a fowler setting his net.
- (13) Plate 39(b). A flock of pigeons settles on the net and begins to pick up the grain.
- (14) *By Kesū Gujarāṭī?* The pigeons fly off, carrying the net with them.
- (15) *By Khem Karan.* A mouse releases the pigeons from the net.
- (16) Plate 38(b) (colour). The crow, having seen how helpful the mouse has been to the pigeons, feels a desire to cultivate friendship with him.
- (17) A hawk, having contracted a friendship with a partridge, persuades the partridge to come to her nest.
- (18) Unable to suppress her savage instincts, the hawk kills the partridge.
- (19) Plate 40(a). *By Shyām.* A camel-driver comes across a fire that has been lighted by a caravan party, and finds a snake caught in the midst of the flames. Fastening a bag at the end of his spear he enables the snake to escape.
- (20) After some hesitation the mouse (see 16) accepts the offers of friendship made by the crow and they embrace one another.



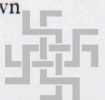
- (21) The crow introduces the mouse to his friend, the tortoise.
- (22) *By ‘Āṣī*. A hunter catches a black buck in a trap and shoots it just as it is making an effort to escape. While he is carrying it home he is attacked by a wild boar, and, though he shoots an arrow through the boar's heart, making a last effort it deals him a mortal blow with its tusks. A hungry wolf, finding such a store of food, resolves not to be extravagant, and begins by eating the hunter's bow-string; the string snaps, and the end of the bow pierces the wolf's heart and kills him.
- (23) *By Manī*. The guest of the ascetic, in whose house the mouse lives, digs up the store of gold pieces which the mouse has accumulated.
- (24) Plate 41 (a). The ascetic and his guest divide the money between them, and when they go to bed the ascetic puts his share under his pillow. As soon as he thinks they are asleep the mouse tries to recover some of the money, but the guest hits him with a stick so violently that it is only with difficulty that he manages to escape into his hole.
- (25) Plate 41 (b). *By Shyām*. While the three friends—the crow, the mouse, and the tortoise—are conversing together, a black buck, fleeing from a hunter, joins them, and takes up his abode with them.
- (26) A short time afterwards they miss him, and the crow discovers him caught in a net. The mouse sets to work to bite the cords, and set him free, just as the hunter approaches.
- (27) The black buck bounds away, the mouse runs into a hole, and the crow flies off; but the tortoise is not able to escape so quickly, and the hunter picks him up and carries him off in his bag.
- (28) Plate 40 (b). *By Kamālī Fībillah*. In order to rescue their friend, the black buck pretends to be wounded and limps along, with the crow hovering round, as if about to attack his eyes. The hunter, expecting to find in him an easy prey, puts down the tortoise and runs after the black buck. Meanwhile, the mouse gnaws the strings of the bag and enables the tortoise to escape.
- (29) At length the hunter, wearied out with his fruitless attempt to catch the black buck, gives up the chase, and returns to his bag. Then, finding that the tortoise too has escaped, he goes home disappointed, and in future leaves the friends in peace.
- (30) *By Sheo Rāj Gujarātī*. The murderous attack of the owls upon the crows.
- (31) Plate 42 (a) (colour). *By Manī*. The assembly of the birds. The cause of the enmity between the owls and the crows was that, when on one occasion the birds met together to elect a king and the owl was proposed for this office, the crow opposed the proposal and secured its rejection.
- (32) Plate 43 (a). *By Surjan*. Water having failed in the country of the elephants, they migrate to the neighbourhood of a spring, called the fountain of the moon. The hares living there are crushed to death by the elephants and appeal to the king of the hares for relief.
- (33) Plate 43 (b). *By Darm (sic, for Dharm) Dās Tūnrah*. The king of the hares sends an envoy, named Bihruz, who, standing on an eminence, warns the king of the elephants of the terrible wrath of the moon if the elephants disturb her fountain.
- (34) (The artist's name has been cut through; the first portion appears to be *Surjan*.) The king of the elephants is alarmed and kneels down before the image of the moon reflected in the water, and promises to take his followers away and not bring them to that spot again.



- (35) The crow has his nest in a tree, near which dwells a partridge. The partridge suddenly disappears and remains away for such a long time that the crow fancies he is dead. After a while a quail comes and takes up his abode in the partridge's house.
- (36) The partridge and the quail having quarrelled on the subject of the possession of their dwelling-place, bring their case before a sanctimonious cat, who has a reputation for prayer and fasting.
- (37) The cat, after having discoursed to them on the worthlessness of the riches of this transitory world and urged them to lay up a store of righteousness for the next world, springs upon them and devours them.
- (38) *By Shankar.* One of the ministers of the king of the crows, named Kārshinās, suggests that he should use trickery in order to win the confidence of the owls and work their destruction; so Kārshinās has his feathers plucked out, and, stained with blood, is left under a tree where the crows have their nests, while the king of the crows and all his army go far away. The owls, coming to the nesting-place of the crows, find no one there except Kārshinās, who states that he has been accused of sympathy for the owls and cruelly treated by his companions.
- (39) Plate 44 (a). *By Sheo Rāj.* A bear, having wandered down from the stony mountains, finds a troop of apes living at ease among fruit-bearing trees. Filled with envy, he disturbs their rest, but they set upon him and wound him, until he flies for his life back into the mountains.
- (40) *By Tiriyyā (?)*. When the bear tells the story of his discomfiture, the other bears determine to avenge him. They suddenly attack the apes, during the absence of their king, and occupy their fertile territory.
- (41) Plate 44 (b). The king of the apes returns to find his kingdom occupied by his enemies and his subjects clamouring for justice. One of his faithful followers, named Maymūn, offers to sacrifice himself for the good of the community, and at his own request his ears are bitten off and he is left, maimed in hands and feet, by the roadside, where he is found by the bears. To them he explains that he has suffered this cruel treatment because he advised the king of the apes to submit to the bears.
- (42) Maymūn warns the king of the bears that the apes have taken refuge in a desert, where they are collecting an army in order to take their revenge, and advises him to attack them unexpectedly in their place of refuge. So the maimed Maymūn is tied on to the back of a bear, and leads the way, followed by the army of the bears, which the painter has represented as a troop of mail-clad warriors mounted on war-horses.
- (43) *By Tiriyyā (?)*. Maymūn leads the army of the bears farther and farther into the desert, until they all die of thirst and are burnt up by the fiery blast of the hot wind. (Without any warrant from the text, the painter has represented Maymūn as accompanied by three other apes.)
- (44) Plate 42 (b) colour. The crows destroy the owls by heaping up dry sticks in front of the cave in which the owls collect during the day, and setting the sticks on fire, so that the owls are either burnt by the fire or smothered by the smoke.
- (45) The sparrows have built their nest on the roof of a house and hatched their young in it. One day a snake comes, eats up the little ones, and goes to sleep in the nest. While the master of the house is lighting a lamp, the male sparrow snatches the wick out of his hand and throws it on the nest. The owner, afraid that the house may catch fire, goes up on to the roof and begins clearing the nest away with an adze, and so discovers the snake and kills it.
- (46) An aged and infirm ape is in the habit of feeding in a fig-tree, and a tortoise, who in the course of his travels rests under that tree, eats the figs that the ape throws down.

- (47) *By Paras.* A foolish thief is caught by the police patrol and carried off to prison.
- (48) The king of Kashmir has a favourite ape, who at night keeps guard with a dagger in his hand. One night some ants fall down from the roof of the palace and disturb the slumber of the king; the ape, seeing them, runs to kill them with his dagger. At this moment a thief makes his way into the king's chamber and rushing forward, seizes the ape, and tells the king that the ape was just about to kill him. So the faithful ape is thrown into chains and the thief is made one of the king's attendants.
- (49) The ape and the tortoise (see 46) form so close a friendship that the ape forgets the infirmity of age and the tortoise his home and family. The wife of the tortoise, weary of his long absence, grows jealous and sends news that she is sick, and when her husband returns to her tells him that the only cure for her ailment is the heart of an ape.
- (50) *By Pāk.* The tortoise returns to the ape and persuades him to visit the island where the wife of the tortoise lives. While they are on their journey, the ape, riding on the tortoise's back, manages to elicit from the tortoise the purpose of their journey.
- (51) *By Āṣī.* The ape deludes the tortoise into the belief that he is quite willing to give up his heart to cure the sickness of the tortoise's wife, but that, as it is the custom of apes to leave their hearts at home when they go to visit friends, it will be necessary for the tortoise to carry him back to the island of the fig-tree, in order to fetch his heart. As soon as the ape reaches land, he runs up a tree and refuses to go any farther.
- (52) *By ʿġagannāth (?)*. A fox is in the service of a sick lion who is no longer strong enough to hunt. So the fox entices away the ass of a bleacher, with lying promises of freedom, into a luscious meadow, and brings him near to the place where the lion is lying.
- (53) *By Bandī Kalān.* The lion attempts to leap upon the ass, but is too weak to reach him; so the ass manages to escape.
- (54) Plate 45 (a). *By Sūr ... (?)*. By lying stories the fox again persuades the ass to return; and this time the lion manages to kill him.
- (55) A weasel, left in charge of a baby, kills a snake who is making for the child's cradle. The father of the child, returning, sees the weasel besmeared with blood, and thinking that it has killed the baby batters it to death.
- (56) Plate 45 (b). A mouse coming up out of its hole under a tree finds a cat caught in a snare. At first the mouse is pleased to see the misfortune of its enemy, but when its eyes fall upon a weasel lying in ambush for it and a crow sitting on the tree waiting to seize it, determines to form a friendship with the cat and try to set it free.
- (57) The mouse begins to bite through the meshes of the net in which the cat is entangled. (See 61.)
- (58) Plate 46 (a) colour. A farmer, having fallen on evil days, determines to emigrate with his beautiful young wife to another part of the country. She is persuaded by a prince, who comes riding by, to elope with him, in spite of the warnings of her husband that punishment may fall upon her for her wickedness.
- (59) While they are resting by a spring, a lion suddenly attacks the woman and begins to devour her; whereupon the prince leaps upon his horse and gallops terror-stricken away.
- (60) *By Sheo Dās.* The farmer, seeking his wife, finds her mangled body and mourns over her faithlessness and its terrible punishment.
- (61) Plate 46 (b) colour. *By Anant.* The mouse bites through all the meshes of the snare, so that on the approach of the hunter the cat is able to run up a tree, while the mouse dives down a hole at the foot of the tree.

- (62) *By Kesū Gujarātī.* A frog forms a friendship with a mouse, but one day a crow swoops down, seizes the mouse, and carries it up in the air.
- (63) *By Sheo Dās.* A king, named Ibn-i-Madīn, became so friendly with a lark, that she laid her eggs in the palace. A baby lark is seen just coming out of the shell at the moment when the ladies of the palace announce the birth of a prince to the king. (The artist has made the bird look more like a bustard than a lark, but in 71 a more suitable representation is given.)
- (64) *By Manī.* One day the little lark scratches the palm of the prince's hand, and the prince in a rage twists its neck and throws it on the ground. The mother returns to find her offspring lying dead, and breaks out into lamentations at the sight.
- (65) *By Manī.* The lark in revenge tears out the prince's eyes, and flies up on to the roof of the palace. The king in vain tries to tempt it down, in the hope of inflicting punishment upon it.
- (66) *By Tulṣī.* A holy mendicant, named Dānādīl, is set upon by a band of thieves, while he is on a pilgrimage to Mecca; they rob him of the few goods he possesses, and put him to death. When he fails to divert them from their cruel purpose, he cries out to a flock of cranes flying overhead, praying them to avenge his blood.
- (67) *By Sānwlah.* Some time afterwards the thieves are together in a mosque of the city from which Dānādīl has come, when the cranes come flying over the mosque and utter such loud cries that the worshippers have to desist from their prayers. Hereupon, one of the thieves is overheard saying to his companion, 'Surely they are seeking the blood of Dānādīl.' The thieves are seized, confess their crime, and are put to death.
- (68) *By Thirpāl.* An old woman, whose daughter is sick, prays to God to take her own life instead of her daughter's. One day a cow, having eaten the contents of a cooking-pot, is unable to withdraw its head, and rushes into the woman's house. The mother, thinking that it is the Angel of Death, forgets her prayer, and in her terror, beseeches the cow to take the daughter and leave herself alone.
- (69) *By Makrā.* A favourite musician of the king has trained one of his slaves so well in singing and playing, that the king shows him special favour. So the musician out of envy kills his pupil. The king orders the musician to be put to death, but he urges, 'I have done wrong in depriving your Majesty of half of your delight, but if you slay me, you will destroy the whole of your delight'; so the king forgives him and restores him to his favour.
- (70) An Arab of the desert comes to a baker of Baghdad and makes a bargain that he shall eat as much bread as he wants for half a *dīnār*. He then sits down on the bank of the river and begins to eat voraciously. The baker, alarmed, asks him when he will stop. The Arab answers, 'So long as this water flows, I shall go on eating bread.'
- (71) *By Banwārī Khurd.* King Ibn-i-Madīn, having failed to capture the lark, regretfully sees it fly away.
- (72) Plate 47 (a). *By Bhīm (?) Gujarātī.* The lion-king having heard from his courtiers an account of the integrity and virtues of the jackal, has him summoned to appear before him, and appoints him his chief minister.
- (73) *By Bhīm (?) Gujarātī.* A sweetmeat seller, having prepared a dish of honey for a religious mendicant, with a fan whisks away the flies which have begun to settle on the honey.
- (74) *By Khem Khurd.* The lion-king holding an inquiry into the conduct of the jackal, his chief minister, who is accused by the other animals of having carried off to his own house the piece of meat intended for the monarch's breakfast.



- (75) *By Anant.* The disgraced chamberlain stealing one of the king's golden dishes. The king has seen the theft; and when the guests are being tormented by the attendants in their efforts to find the thief, the king says, 'Let them go, for none of them has the dish; he who has it will not return it, and he who saw it will not tell.'
- (76) *By 'Āṣī.* A lynx watching a snake trying to swallow a porcupine.
- (77) *By 'Āṣī.* The lynx watching a dog kill a fox that has eaten the porcupine.
- (78) *By Shankar Gujarāṭī.* The lynx sees a leopard kill a dog; then a hunter shoots at the leopard and, having killed it, strips off its skin. A horseman passing by covets the skin, and after slaying the hunter rides away with it.
- (79) *By Nand Gawāliyārī.* The horseman has only galloped a few yards, when his horse stumbles and the horseman falls and breaks his neck.
- (80) The lynx watching a lion killing two fawns.
- (81) *By Bākīr.* An ape is forced by a wild boar to shake down figs from a fig-tree, to satisfy his voracious appetite.
- (82) *By Kesū Gujarāṭī.* When the ape has shaken down all the figs and refuses to go to another tree and shake that also, the wild boar, enraged, tries to climb the tree, but the branch unable to bear his weight breaks and the boar is killed.
- (83) *By Banwārī Kalān.* A crane tries to imitate the hawk, and, giving up the search for worms, pursues a pigeon. The feet of the crane get stuck in the mud of a stream, and, before it can get free, it is caught by a bleacher.
- (84) *By Khem.* Two scholars, discussing a doubtful point of law, disturb a hunter, and promise to keep quiet only on condition that he gives them two out of the three birds he is hoping to catch in his net. They carry off the two birds and give him no reward for his pains; but he asks them at least to teach him the word about which they were wrangling, on the chance that one day it might be of advantage to him. The scholars then tell him that they have been quarrelling over the question of hereditary succession to the estate of a hermaphrodite. Next day the poor man catches a very fine fish (which may be seen swimming in the stream), and, taking it to the king, receives as his reward a thousand gold pieces.
- (85) *By Bākīr.* One of the king's ministers protests that this is an extravagant sum to give for a fish, and suggests that the fisherman be asked to declare whether the fish was male or female, and in either case be ordered to bring its mate before carrying off the money. But the fisherman, remembering the word that he has learned from the scholars, says that the fish was a hermaphrodite, and in consequence of his knowledge of this learned word he has his reward doubled.
- (86) *By Nānah.* King Hilar crying out in fright, in consequence of a dream; his attendants rush in alarmed at his cries.
- (87) *By Mādhu Kalān.* King Hilar filled with perplexity at his disquieting dreams.
- (88) King Hilar consulting the Brahmans as to how he may avert the evil which his dreams seem to portend.
- (89) Plate 47 (b). *By Dhannū.* King Solomon consulting the birds and animals as to whether or not he should drink the Water of Life.
- (90) *By Nand.* A king who, while hunting, has by accident shot a wood-cutter, consults a dervish as to how he may atone for his sin and live a life of virtue in the future. The dervish gives him three letters, which a confidential servant is to hand to the king when ever his fiery temper is likely to prompt him to do evil.

- (91) *By Ibrāhīm.* Queen Irāndukht (wearing a golden crown) having insulted the king Hīlār, because of the favour he has shown to a rival, Bazmafrūz (who is represented as seated before him), is being led away to execution by the king's minister, Balār.
- (92) *By Dharm Dās Tūnrah.* The confidential servant hands the dervish's letters to the king, when the king is about to kill a slave whom he has found in the room of his favourite wife. The slave had overheard a plot to poison the king and had gone into the queen's chamber to remove the poison.
- (93) *By Shyām.* One of the palace tire-women, who has made the poison, is compelled to swallow some that she had kept by her in a casket, and her immediate death vindicates the innocence of the slave.
- (94) *By Mādihū Kalān.* King Hīlār receives in audience his minister Balār, who asks that the Brahmins who gave false interpretations of the king's dreams should be punished; they are condemned to be trampled to death by elephants.
- (95) A traveller who has rescued a snake from a pit into which it had fallen is later condemned to death on a false charge by the king of Aleppo. While he is being led outside the city wall to execution, the snake comes out of a hole with some grass in its mouth, and says that this will cure the king's mother, whom it has bitten the day before. By this means the traveller heals the king's mother, and has an opportunity of proving his innocence.
- (96) A farmer has lost three hundred gold pieces; they are found by a shepherd, who in fear of some robbers throws them into a pit, where the original owner recovers them. While mourning over their loss, the shepherd pays a visit to the farmer and tells him the tale of his misfortunes.

5

JOG-BĀSHISHT

PLATES 48, 49

Purchased from Quaritch in 1917.

A Persian translation from the Sanskrit of the Yoga-Vāsishṭha, the authorship of which is traditionally ascribed to Vālmiki. The translator (fol. 322 b, line 7) gives his name as Farmulī, i.e. an inhabitant of Farmul, a district to the west of Kabul, occupied by settlers from Persia.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The Yoga-Vāsishṭha is a work of Hindu gnosticism, in which Vāsishṭha instructs Prince Rāma as to the true meaning of *Moksha* (or liberation from the chain of successive transmigrations) and of *Jñāna* (or perfect knowledge), and explains how he may practise true renunciation and attain the Absolute without physical separation from worldly affairs.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 27 × 18.5 cm.; the written surface measures 19.7 × 10.8 cm.; 15 lines; folios 323. The pictures usually occupy the whole page, a few have a line or two of text above and below, the smallest measures 12.3 × 10 cm.

BINDING. The original binding is lacking, and the manuscript has been re-bound in red levant morocco with a gold-pressed oriental design.



WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a bold, legible *nasta'liq*, and is a fine specimen of calligraphy. Each page is framed within ruled lines, the innermost a thin line of gold, then vermilion of the same width, then a wider gold line, and after a bare space the whole is enclosed in a narrow blue border. The first 132 pages and fols. 137, 138 are sprinkled with gold. The headings of only a few of the chapters (viii to xii) are written in red ink; in other cases spaces for headings have been left blank.

The manuscript has suffered a certain amount of damage from worms, but in no case so much as to interfere with the legibility of the text. At some early period it was repaired, each folio was reset, and extensive portions of the first 14 folios were renewed. Unfortunately, when the repairs were executed, the margins of the original pages were so closely cut that such names of painters as were written below the pictures were (except in one instance) destroyed; and in the few instances in which traces of such inscriptions still remain, the fragments of letters that were left are so minute that it is impossible to identify them (e.g. fols. 50 b, 85 b, 87 b, 107, 111, 114, 128 b, 230, 249, 286 b, 292, 306 b).

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date is given in the colophon as the 15th day of the month Āzar of the year 47 of the Ilāhī era (= December, 1602). There seems no adequate reason for doubting the correctness of this date; the ink with which the figures are written is of the same quality and character as that used for the rest of the entry, and this date fits in with the fact that Akbar ordered this translation of the *Yoga-Vāsishṭha* to be made in A.H. 1006 (= A.D. 1597-8). There are several librarians' entries on the last page of the manuscript, showing that the volume was at various dates submitted to the Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān for their inspection. Two of them record the years 3 and 8 of the Ilāhī era; these cannot refer to the reign of Akbar, as the translation had not been made at so early a date; so they must correspond to the third and eighth years of the reign of Jahāngīr, who, though he abolished the Ilāhī era instituted by his father, preserved the special term Ilāhī as a designation of his regnal years. Similarly, the dates 1 and 5, given without the addition of any era, must denote the first and fifth years of Jahāngīr's reign.

There are three other entries in which dates are given according to the Muhammadan era: (a) 28th Šafar, 1023 (= April 1614) in the reign of Jahāngīr; (b) 17th Šafar, 1048 (= July 1638) in the reign of Shāh Jahān; (c) 22nd Jumāda'l-ākhirah, 1069 (= March, 1659), also in the reign of Shāh Jahān, a few months before he lost his throne. Two other entries give the regnal years only, 3rd Šafar, 22 (which may refer to the reign of either Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān), and 15th Rabī I, 23 (which must be in the reign of Shāh Jahān, as Jahāngīr died in the preceding month of the twenty-third year of his reign, according to the Muhammadan era). The interest which Shāh Jahān took in this volume is evidenced by the fact that with his own hand he wrote on the front page of the manuscript the Muslim superscription—'Allahu akbar' (God is great)—while underneath is the attestation, 'Written by the Emperor Shāh Jahān, son of the Emperor Jahāngīr, son of the Emperor Akbar; written in the year A.H. 1037' (= A.D. 1628, the year of his accession to the throne). It is worth mentioning that a good many other manuscripts with similar inscriptions are in existence.

The scribe's name is not given.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The manuscript contains forty-one full-page miniatures by the artists of Akbar's court. There is evidence which suggests that the artist's name was originally attached to each picture, being written in red letters. Unfortunately, in most cases the name was written below the picture and was consequently destroyed when the margins were cut and the pages reset; in one such instance only (fol. 58 b) was a name preserved, viz. Haribans, an artist who is mentioned in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* as having been one of Akbar's painters; some examples of his work are found in manuscripts in the British Museum (Or. 3714 or Or. 4615). In all other cases in which

the name was written below the picture only fragments of letters remain. On fol. 262 b the name may possibly have been Tiriyyā, and on fol. 249 the name may with less confidence be read as Bishan Dās; the work of both these painters is known from other sources.

In one instance (fol. 63) the name of the painter—Kesu—has escaped destruction, because it was written by the side of a line of text which had to be preserved, though it was below a picture; in another instance (fol. 73) the name was written on a panel of a door, but has been so defaced as to be now unrecognizable.

As is consonant with the subject-matter of the text, the style of the illustrations appears to continue traditional methods of Hindu painting, and it is not improbable (though there is no positive evidence in support of such a supposition) that the painters had before them an illustrated copy of the original Sanskrit text or of a Hindi translation. There is little evidence of Persian influence, and the scale of representation of the human figure is rather larger than is common in the work of Akbar's court painters—except, of course, in such monumental illustrations as those of the *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamzah*.

The colouring is as a rule rather sombre, and of light tonality.

The subjects of the pictures are as follows:

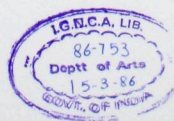
- (1) fol. 7. Prince Rāma, after having gone on pilgrimage and visited many hermitages, wishes to cut himself off from all the duties of his exalted rank and all the pleasures of life. His father, King Daśaratha, noticing his despondency, summons him to his presence, and inquires the cause of his grief, but the young Prince declares there is none.
- (2) fol. 19 b. After the arrival of the sage Viśvamitra, the Prince (standing in a respectful attitude before his father) reveals the reasons for his despondency and asks the sage to teach him how quiescence of mind can be attained.
- (3) fol. 25 b. The sage Vasishṭha (after whom the book gains its name) instructing Prince Rāma as to the means of attaining *moksha* (salvation).
- (4) fol. 38. The story of Queen Līlā, who prayed the goddess Sarasvatī that if her husband, King Padma, should die before her, his subtle body might remain in her house.
- (5) fol. 41 b. Plate 48 (a). After the king's death, the goddess conveys Līlā to the place where her husband is, and she beholds him in the form of a young Prince, sixteen years old, surrounded with pomp and magnificence.
- (6) fol. 47. King Padma in a former birth was a Brahman who cherished an ambition to be a king. One of his two wives prayed Sarasvatī to cause his subtle body to remain in her house after his death. Here the Brahman is seen in his state after death, with his ambitious desires personified as demons before him, in the proximity of his old abode.
- (7) fol. 50 b. King Vidūratha, the second incarnation of King Padma, engaged in battle with his enemy, the king of Sindhu.
- (8) fol. 58 b. *By Haribans*. Vidūratha, having been defeated in the first battle with the king of Sindhu, resumes the conflict, until only the two kings survive, and then Vidūratha is slain by his opponent.
- (9) fol. 63. *By Kesu*. The female demon Karkatī hunting for human blood, and carrying the bodies of two of her victims on her shoulders.
- (10) fol. 73. The female demon spends a thousand years in religious austerities, but is unable to destroy her craving for human flesh. Having come across a king and his minister in the Himalayas, she is about to devour them, but after entering into

conversation with them, finds that they have obtained the knowledge of divine truth, and is persuaded by them to desist from further massacres. But as her body is unable to abandon its carnivorous habits, the king invites her to his palace and promises to provide her with the bodies of murderers and other criminals, so that she may continue to dwell in the palace, and undisturbed devote herself to pious meditations. The interview with the king is depicted, under a night sky.

- (11) fol. 85 b. A horse is brought to King Lavana and he is asked to mount it, but before he can do so he falls into a trance, and in this state of unconsciousness imagines that he passes through a series of adventures; among them, that the horse carries him swiftly through a forest, where he becomes entangled in a tree; the horse bolts and leaves him hanging there all through the night, and it is not until daybreak that he is able to descend, stiff with cold and fatigue. The king is shown hanging from the tree, a branch of which he grasps with his hands.
- (12) fol. 87 b. An outcaste girl gives him food, on condition that he shall marry her, and leads him to her parents, who live upon various unclean animals. In the picture the king is conversing with the father.
- (13) fol. 95. King Lavana offering sacrifice, surrounded by Brahmins.
- (14) fol. 101. After recovering from his swoon, King Lavana visits the village of outcastes and hears the story of his marriage with the outcaste girl as if it has actually taken place, the illusion in the king's mind having reflected itself on the minds of the outcastes as though it were a reality, and so become objectivized in the physical world.
- (15) fol. 107. Yama, the god of death, restoring to the sage Bhṛigu his son, Vāsudeva, who has died and passed through many incarnations, while the sage has been engaged in religious austerities.
- (16) fol. 111. Battle between the Devas and the Asuras.
- (17) fol. 114. The Devas again attacking the Asuras and defeating them.
- (18) fol. 125. The sage Vasishṭha explaining to Prince Rāma how the Universe is nothing but a mode of the consciousness of Ātma.
- (19) fol. 128 b. Plate 49(a). King Janaka, in his garden, listening to the wisdom of the ascetics. In the background, beside a Persian wheel, a man is working in a field.
- (20) fol. 139 b. The two brothers, Puṇya and Pāvana, engaged in ascetic practices on the banks of the Ganges.
- (21) fol. 145. The Guru Śukrāchārya instructing King Bali on the nature of true knowledge.
- (22) fol. 150 b. The god Viṣṇu, appearing to King Prahlaḍa, and granting him that bliss of perfect knowledge in which there is no pain.
- (23) fol. 157 b. The god Viṣṇu appearing to a Brahman, who has stood throat deep in the waters of a tank for eight months, and instructing him as to the true nature of Māya (illusion).
- (24) fol. 166. The sage Vasishṭha telling Prince Rāma how self-introspection may be attained.
- (25) fol. 172. The ascetic Uddhālaka, wrapped in ecstasy, refusing to accept the offer of the Devas to convey him to Devaloka.
- (26) fol. 178 b. Plate 48 (b). The king of the hunters, Suraghu, seeking instruction from the sage Māṇḍavya, who has taken up his abode in the Himalayas.



- (27) fol. 184 b. The ascetic Bhāsa visiting his brother ascetic Vitāsa, after they have been separated for some time and have been engaged in devout practices.
- (28) fol. 194. The ascetic Vitahavya, seated on a deer-skin before his hermitage of leaves, absorbed in meditation.
- (29) fol. 218 b. A heavenly musician in Mount Meru, the abode of the gods.
- (30) fol. 230. Plate 49(b). The god Śiva with his wife Parvati appearing to the sage Vasishṭha and explaining the true nature of the worship of God.
- (31) fol. 249. *Possibly by Bishandās*. A demon that feeds on human flesh threatens to devour a king unless he can answer six questions as to the nature of the existence of the Universe. When the king has answered all the questions satisfactorily, the demon retires to a solitary place and devotes himself to pious meditation. In the picture the demon is shown conversing with the king in a garden pavilion.
- (32) fol. 262 b. *Possibly by Tirīyyā*. A foolish man having by his asceticism gained possession of a wishing-stone, throws it away under the impression that it is valueless; some days later he picks up the broken fragments of a bracelet which has been placed in his path in order to befool him, and, believing that he has now got possession of the true wishing-stone, abandons all his wealth and retires to the forest.
- (33) fol. 264 b. King Śikhidvaja and his wife asleep in their chamber, with two sleeping maidservants.
- (34) fol. 268 b. A Brahman named Nārada, while meditating on the banks of the Ganges, coming upon some Deva girls sporting in the river.
- (35) fol. 282. The queen instructing her husband on the nature of true renunciation.
- (36) fol. 286 b. The queen recognizes that her husband has overcome all delusions and has attained to the knowledge of all truth. A somewhat similar picture to the last, but in this the queen is drawn (as she presumably feels) very small.
- (37) fol. 292. The queen, disguised as Madhanikā, being married to King Śikhidvaja, with the object of testing whether her husband's mind is still fixed on wordly enjoyments.
- (38) fol. 293 b. The queen devises a further test of her husband by creating the illusion of a lover, whom the king sees in her company but disregards, having destroyed in himself the passion of anger.
- (39) fol. 298 b. Kacha, son of the sage Brihaspati, unable to gain quietude of mind, practises self-renunciation for eight years, and is visited by his father, who encourages him to persevere.
- (40) fol. 304 b. The god Śiva conversing with an ascetic.
- (41) fol. 306 b. Two ascetics discussing the origin of the Universe.



'AJĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT

PLATES 50-52

Purchased from Vignier, Paris, in 1927.

Six pages, containing illustrations, of the period of Akbar, to a work on Natural History.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. These pages probably formed part of a recension of the '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*' of Qazwīnī, compiled for the Emperor Akbar, but neither the language nor the arrangement exactly correspond to the text of the Persian translations of this work, as found in most manuscripts, the reason perhaps being that in this section, dealing with birds, special reference is made to Indian ornithology.

Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Abū Yaḥyā (1203-83) was born at Qazwīn of an Arab family, and lived partly in Damascus and 'Irāq. The '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*' is a cosmography of great compass, partly compiled from lost originals. It was translated into various foreign languages, and is regarded as one of the most valuable works of its kind.

SIZE. 26.5 × 15.6 cm., slightly variable; the written surface varies from 16.2 to 17.6 × 7.6 to 8.2 cm. The number of lines to each page varies from 7 to 10. The illustrations are of different shapes and sizes, sometimes broader than the text, extending into the margins to right and left. The pictures bear the numbers 114-25 and 147-50.

WRITING AND PAPER. Written in a large, clear *nasta'liq*. The paper is cream-coloured and not highly polished.

DATE AND SCRIBE. No date is given, but the illustrations appear to date from the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605).

ILLUSTRATIONS. There are sixteen illustrations, bearing the names of eight of Akbar's painters, namely B(h)agwān, Bhūrah, Ibrāhīm Kahār, Kānhā, Kesū Khurd, Manī, Mahesh, and Miskīnā.

The colouring is sombre, various tones of green and blue predominating. The skies are unusually freely treated, and especially in No. 3 effects of atmosphere have been successfully rendered.

The subjects of the separate illustrations are as follows:

- (1) Recto. No. 114. Two starlings, sketched by Kānhā and painted by Kesū Khurd.
Verso. No. 115. Two hill pheasants, by the same artists.
- (2) Recto. No. 116. Two partridges.
Verso. No. 117. Two quails, by Bhagwān.
No. 118. The Pulpukār, a large kind of partridge, by the same artist.
- (3) Recto. No. 119. The jungle cock, by Mahesh.
No. 120. Another jungle bird found in the hills, by the same artist.
Verso. No. 121. Four quails. The name of the painter is not given.
- (4) Recto. Plate 51(a). No. 122. Two bustards, sketched by Kānhā and painted by Manī.
No. 123. Two partridges, by the same artists.
Verso. Plate 50 (colour). No. 124. A crane.
No. 125. Two demoiselle cranes, sketched by Kānhā and painted by Manī.



- (5) Recto. Plate 51 (b). No. 147. Two fishes, sketched by Miskinā and painted by Bhurāh.
Verso. Plate 52. No. 148. Six frogs, by the same artists.
- (6) Recto. No. 149. A peacock and a peahen in a mango grove, sketched by Miskinā and painted by Ibrāhīm Kahār.
Verso. No. 150. A banana tree with four little birds on it, by the same artists.

7

ROYAL ALBUMS

PLATES 53-72.

(Plates 53, 57, 58, 65, 72, and Frontispieces to Vols. I and III, in colour.)

A. Nos. 1-19 were purchased at Sotheby's in 1925. They were formerly in the possession of the Earl of Minto.¹ *B.* Nos. 20-38 were purchased privately.

A. Nineteen pages from a Royal Album, once in the possession of the Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and, *B.* nineteen pages from one or more other Albums.

A. SIZE AND FOLIOS. The pages measure 38.7 × 27.5 cm.; the paintings are of various sizes, which are given under the descriptions. There is an early enumeration on the gold margin of each picture, but whether this enumeration belongs to more than one album it is impossible now to determine, though the handwriting appears to be the same in each case. The numbers are ١٠ (in this catalogue numbered 1), ١١ (2), ٢٠ (3), ٢١ (4), ٢٢ (5), ٢٢ (6), ٣١ (7), ٣٢ (8), ٣٣ (9), ٣٥ (10), ٤٧ (12), ٤٨ (13), ٥٣ (14), ٥٤ (15), ٥٨ (16), ٥٩ (17), ٦٠ (18), ٦٠ (19).

BINDING. The original binding is missing, and has been replaced by a lacquer one of the late eighteenth century; the pages have been cut to fit the present binding, and bound with narrow strips of gold paper round the edges.

DATE. The paintings, which are of various dates, were apparently mainly executed during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, i.e. between the years A.D. 1605 and 1658.

At the back of each page are verses written in *nast'aliq* calligraphy by Mir 'Alī, whose penmanship was much appreciated by Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr mentions in his *Memoirs* (trans. A. Rogers, I, p. 168), that he received as a present a manuscript copied by this master. Mir 'Alī was born at Harāt, and was the most famous calligraphist of his time. He died about 1558.

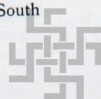
ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The margins of these pages are extraordinarily fine examples of the decorative art of this period. They are in some cases filled with flowers in their natural colours, and in others with flowers painted in gold on a dark blue or green background.

On the reverse of a few of the pages, in the margins, there are introduced many different birds and animals in their natural colours.

The pictures rank among the highest achievements of Mughal Court art of the early and mid-seventeenth century.

Each picture (except 4) bears the name of the painter, and there are examples of the work of the following famous artists: Padārath (1), 'Abd al-Karīm (17), Abu' l-Ḥasan (15), Bālchand (10), Bichitr (5, 7, 9, 14, 16, 19), Farrukh Beg (18), Govardhan (2, 3, 8, 11), and Hashim (6, 12, 13).

¹ Twenty-one pictures from the same album were purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, at the same time.



- (1) Plate 53 (colour). *By Padārath*. A painting of a white, long-haired mountain sheep, standing, looking towards the left, in a rocky landscape against a sunset sky; round his neck hangs a golden bell. Above are some verses copied by Shāh Maḥmūd; below, some by Maḥmūd ibn Iṣḥāq, al-Shahānī.

(Oblong, 16.5 × 20.7 cm.)

- (2) Plate 54. *By Govardhan*. A young prince drinking with his wife on the roof of a palace; outside the railing are three female attendants. The name of the prince is not given, but from portraits in the British Museum (see F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, Vol. II, plate 202), he would appear to be Prince Sulṭān Parviz; the second son of Jahāngīr.¹

(22.2 × 13.4 cm.)

- (3) Plate 55. *By Govardhan*. A Mongol prince on horseback, by the side of a stream; an attendant, also on horseback, holds an umbrella over him.

In the upper right-hand margin, Jahāngīr has written: 'Said to be a portrait of Ḥaẓrat Ṣāhib-qirān (i.e. Timūr). Written by Jahāngīr Akbar Shāh.'

There is a somewhat similar specimen of Govardhan's work among the paintings from the same album as this at the Indian Museum, South Kensington.²

(22.2 × 14.2 cm.)

- (4) Plate 56. The Emperor Jahāngīr playing *Holī* with the ladies of his palace. In the upper part of the picture, the Emperor, whose head is surrounded by a halo, is being conducted by two attendants to a couch. Below is a group of twenty ladies, four of whom carry metal squirts for squirting the red liquid, with which those who celebrate this Hindu festival of the spring equinox are accustomed to sprinkle one another; three beat cymbals and one carries a lute; two others carry bottles of wine and wine-cups. In the background are two buildings, in the niches of which are wine-cups, and there are more wine-cups and bottles, stoppered with flowers, standing on the low platform of the building on the right. From the open doorway of the building at the top of the picture, a large cat, wearing a necklace of gold beads, solemnly surveys the scene.

At the back is a chronogram copied by Mir 'Alī, giving the date A.H. 901 (= A.D. 1495-6), 'Alas, for service paid to Mirzā 'Āshiq! for he suddenly concealed his face from his friends. I searched for the year and month and day of his death. By chance intelligence said, The twenty-first of Sha'bān.'

(24 × 15 cm.)

- (5) Plate 57 (colour). *By Bichitr*. Portrait of 'the servant of the royal court'. The Emperor Jahāngīr, standing, facing left, against a dark green background, holding an orb in his right hand and a sword in his left. He wears a crimson turban, a transparent muslin dress over buff and white striped trousers, and a brilliantly coloured sash. In the upper left-hand corner of the picture is an inscription in gold letters: 'The key of victory over the two worlds is entrusted to thy hand.'

(20.5 × 12.7 cm.)

- (6) *By Hāshim*. (The painter's name is written in minute gold letters in the lower left-hand corner of the picture.) A portrait of Shāhnawāz Khān. He is depicted as a bearded figure, standing facing right, holding a flower and wearing a sword. He wears a white muslin dress over gold and red striped trousers, crimson shoes, and a purple tartan. Shāhnawāz Khān, Mirzā Badī' al-Zamān, was a scion of the Safawids, the royal house of Persia; he was the father-in-law of Awrangzeb, but this relationship availed

¹ The portrait may, however, represent Sulṭān Shujā', the second son of Shāh Jahān.

² Illustrated in Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, plate 36.

him naught when he joined Dārā Shikoh and shared this prince's defeat in the battle of Ajmīr (1659), for Awrangzeb had given orders to his victorious general to put Shāhnawāz Khān to death, and this was done as soon as he could be found near the battlefield.

There is an inscription, apparently in the handwriting of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, as follows: 'The martyr, the best of the sons of Mīrzā Rustam.' A melancholy interest attaches to this inscription, if it was really written by Shāh Jahān, because it must have been added by the captive Emperor after his son Awrangzeb had usurped the throne, while in his imprisonment he gazed on the portrait of one of his former officials who had supported the cause of his eldest and favourite son.

Below the picture are traces of an inscription carefully erased so as not to injure the gold decorative work on which it was written; it appears to have been: 'Portrait of Khān A'zam Kokah; the work of (?)'. This nobleman was the foster-brother of Akbar, and after holding various high offices, died in 1624 in the reign of Jahāngīr. The ornamented blue and gold border contains Persian verses.

(12.5 × 6.2 cm.)

- (7) Plate 58 (colour). *By Bichitr*. A young prince (possibly Shāh Jahān in his youth),¹ drinking in a garden, attended by a number of learned men, and two singers, one of whom is playing the *vīnā*. In the background, on a white marble platform under a canopy, is spread the prince's couch.

(28 × 20.2 cm.)

- (8) Plate 59. *By Govardhan*. A drinking party in a garden. Carpets have been spread, in front of a fountain, in a formal Mughal garden, in which beds of shrubs are separated by rectangular lines of stone, such as still exist in the grounds of Humāyūn's tomb. The chief personage, propped up by a large cushion, is possibly Prince Sulṭān Parvīz. His chief guest, who is also provided with a large cushion (covered with cloth of gold) is probably also a prince. Two large wine-bottles and other vessels are set out on the carpet, beside which lies a cat. There are eleven persons altogether; besides the two princes, there are two scholars, two dervishes, a musician with his *vīnā* on his shoulder, two young men who, like the princes, wear pearl ear-rings, and two pages. They have six books among them, and appear to be discussing some matter of literary interest.

(20.9 × 11.9 cm.)

- (9) Plate 60. *By Bichitr*. A portrait of Muḥammad Rizā Kashmīrī, a jovial-looking person with a bushy beard, wearing a large white turban, and holding in his hands a book and a rosary, standing against a very dark background. His name is inscribed on his turban.

(16.2 × 9.2 cm.)

- (10) *By Bālchand*. Portrait of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, standing on the globe, with his four sons; the names of these are not given, but it may be conjectured that the figure on the right, presenting to the Emperor on a cushion a collection of jewels, is Darā Shikoh, while the little boy is Murād Bakhsh. The princes on the left are probably Shāh Shujā' and Awrangzeb.

The Emperor's head is surrounded by a green halo encircled with golden rays. Above him is a cloud, in the middle of which two cherubs hold a crown. He wears a white muslin skirt over deep cream trousers, an orange turban bound with crimson, and blue and white slippers. His sons have orange, green, and crimson turbans with similar dresses. Between the Emperor's feet the painter has written his name, 'the servant of the royal court, Bālchand'.

¹ It is possible, however, that this Prince is Sulṭān Shujā'.



On the right and left of the figures are written the following Persian verses :

'May the praises of Shāh Jahān be on the lips of lovers.
Wherever the sun-like rider draws his sword,
May supplication for his good fortune be the litany of those who rise at
early dawn to pray.
May the army of his enemies be scattered like the stars.'

(23.2 × 14.9 cm.)

- (11) Frontispiece to Vol. III (colour). *By Govardhan*. A group of servants at the outskirts of the camp of some great personage. One is possibly a water-carrier, as behind him a leather water-skin is suspended from a wooden trivet; below him is a man in charge of a parrot, leaning against some corded bundles; they are listening to a minstrel playing on a large *vinā*; beneath him sits a *faqīr*. In the background is a landscape with trees and thatched buildings and part of a great encampment, with elephants and camels that have brought the tents and baggage.¹

(23 × 16.7 cm.)

- (12) *By Hāshim*. A bust portrait of the Emperor Jahāngīr at the window of his palace, holding an orb, *circa* 1615. He wears a green and gold turban, a flowered dress, and he has a gold halo; the background is black.

Below is a copy of a European picture (head and shoulders) of the youthful Christ holding a cross. In the lower left-hand corner is written in faint gold letters, 'Painted by Abū'l-Ḥasan the servant of Jahāngīr Shāh'. This is the favourite painter mentioned by Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs* (trans. A. Rogers, II, p. 20), on whom he bestowed the title *Nādir al-Zamān* ('the wonder of the age').

(17.1 × 9.2 cm.)

- (13) Plate 61. *By Hāshim*. A bust portrait of the Emperor Jahāngīr, with his left hand resting on a globe, and his right hand fingering his pearl necklace. He wears a dark green and gold turban, and has a gold halo; his dress is cream colour, and the background is light green.

Below, by a painter whose name appears to be Amī Chand, a bust portrait of a man in profile, with a bushy black beard, wearing a large white turban with a red top-piece, holding a book and a staff, against a dark background.

These portraits are in panels set in a gold border, decorated with minute blue flowers growing on the branches of a tree, the trunk of which springs up in the middle of the lower border. No. 12 has a similar border.

(17.3 × 9.4 cm.)

- (14) Frontispiece to Vol. I (colour). *By Bichitr*. Portrait of Shāh Dawlat. This venerable personage with a long white beard is undoubtedly² Shāh Dawlat, although no name is given. He wears a white robe and a large white turban, and over his shoulders hangs a brown scarf, against which is leaning a long staff. In his hand he holds a globe on which is a Persian inscription, 'The key of the victory over the two worlds is entrusted to thy hand'; above it is a gold crown surmounted with an aigrette. The background is painted a very dark green.

Another portrait of the same saint is in No. 25.

To the right of the picture is an inscription, 'The servant of the royal court' (referring probably to the painter, whose name is written below—as in No. 10). All the inscriptions are written in gold, and the circular rayed halo is also of gold. The emblem which the saint is carrying is probably intended to indicate his devotion to the imperial house, with various members of which he is said to have had relations. The Emperors

¹ A similar subject, by Bichitr, is included in the South Kensington portion of this Collection.

² There are, however, noticeable differences in the

appearance of the Saint in this portrait and in no. 25, by Dilwarat.



Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān both visited Shāh Dawlat, and he is said to have prophesied to Prince Awrangzeb that he would succeed to the throne; at a later date, after he had become Emperor, Awrangzeb sent for Shāh Dawlat, who appeared before him in a miraculous manner. The Emperor was dining by himself, but he saw that a hand was eating with him. Summoning his attendants he told them that this hand was that of an old man with the second finger missing. One of the attendants surmised that it was the hand of Shāh Dawlat, and when the saint presented himself in person, the identification was discovered to be correct, and he was dismissed with costly presents.

(21.8 × 13 cm.)

- (15) Plate 62. *By Abu'l-Hasan.* Portrait of the Emperor Jahāngīr, standing on a circular globe (of a European type), fixed in a stand. The Emperor wears a magenta dress, and a white turban; the background is green. On the globe the world is shown, with various symbolical animal figures. Beneath the globe is an ox, and beneath the ox a large fish.¹ The Emperor is shooting an arrow at the head of a black man, whose mouth has already been pierced by an arrow; the head is fixed on the point of a long javelin; just below the blade of the javelin are four prongs, from one of which hangs the dead body of an owl; another owl, with open eyes and outstretched wings, is perched on the head of the black man; from the middle of the shaft of the javelin is suspended a golden chain, the other end of which is fastened to the globe just below the Emperor's foot; from this chain² hang twelve golden bells, with, in the middle of them, a pair of scales. Standing on the ground and leaning against the shaft of the javelin is the emperor's gun. At the top of the picture are two angels appearing out of clouds, one carrying a sword in a purple scabbard, and the other three arrows. On the right of the picture there is standing on the ground, in front of the fish's head, a tall stand with a flat base, bearing a round disk, within which in nine gold circles on a blue background are the names of the Emperor and eight of his ancestors, Akbar, Humā-yūn, Babur, Shaykh, 'Umar Mīrzā, Abū Sa'īd, Muḥammad Mīrzā, Mīrān Shāh, and Tīmūr. Above the round disk is a golden crown, with three ostrich feathers; and over the crown hovers a bird of paradise. By the side of this stand is written the name of the painter, Abu'l-Ḥasan. There are a number of minute inscriptions scattered over this picture; between the bird of paradise and the crown, 'Thy nine ancestors were crowned by God'. Under the owl perched on the black man's head, 'The face of the rebel (?) has become the abode of the owl'. Between the Emperor and the black man's head,

'Whenever thou (apparently the arrow is addressed) dost come in the bow,
Thou dost drive colour away from the face of the enemy'.

On each side of the blade of the javelin,

'Thy arrow that lays the enemy low, sent out of the world 'Anbar, the owl who
fled from the light'

(a play on the name of the Emperor, Nūr al-Dīn, 'the light of the faith').

'The belly of thy pig-like enemy is
Sated with his blood through thy spear.'

Under the pair of scales,

'Through the justice of Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr
The lion has sipped milk from the teat of the goat.'

¹ It is a popular Islamic notion that the earth is supported by a great fish.

² Probably the chain of justice, which Jāhāngīr

(*Memoirs*, I, p. 7) had hung from the battlements of the fort at Agra, so that the oppressed might attract his attention.



A little lower down,

‘By the good fortune of the coming of the Shadow of God
The earth has become firmly fixed on the cow and the fish.’

To the left of the gun, leaning against the javelin,

‘The gun of Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr
Never misses, like the decree of fate.
Through its heart-burning arrow, every moment,
The leopard, the lion, and the mountain goat kiss the ground.’

This picture was painted to commemorate either the bitterness of Jahāngīr’s hatred of his enemy, Malik ‘Anbar, or the latter’s death in 1626, one year before that of Jahāngīr himself. Malik ‘Anbar was an Abyssinian who vigorously opposed the progress of Jahāngīr’s armies in the Deccan and succeeded in recovering much of the territory that had been conquered from the state of Ahmadnagar by the Mughals. Jahāngīr sent one army after another in vain, to check him, and Malik ‘Anbar supported Shāh Jahān when in 1622 he rebelled against his father. He died in 1626 in the eightieth year of his age.

A close replica of this picture, by the same artist Abu’l-Ḥasan, was sold at Sotheby’s in 1929.

The purport of the verses at the back is,

‘He who utters words of compassion to God’s creatures brings them prosperity.
This is the fitting action for kingly power. (Let us see) whom it befalls. Be kind
with all sincerity to man. What human quality is nobler than kindness?’
(25.8 × 16.5 cm.)

- (16) Plate 63. *By Bichitr*. The Emperor Shāh Jahān standing on a globe. He wears an orange dress, a crimson plumed turban, white and purple striped trousers, and a gold-embroidered crimson belt and slippers. At his feet are a lion and a sheep which is licking the face of the lion. In his right hand the Emperor holds a sword, and in his left an elaborate jewel of gold and pearls, with a heart in the centre. Above his head two angels, of a European type, hold a large gold crown, also of European fashion; and on clouds to right and left are two groups of holy men, with hands uplifted in prayer for him. In the lower right-hand corner kneels a Hindu prince, with his sword hung round his neck; he resembles the picture of Rājā Bhāo Singh, who is represented holding a chowry in the darbar of Jahāngīr in the India Museum (I.M. 9-1925). The composition of this painting is undoubtedly copied from a European picture, probably of the Virgin in glory with attendant saints and angels; the Rājā occupying the place of the kneeling donor.

Bhāo Singh was the son of Mān Singh, Rājā of Amber (the modern Jaipur), and was one of the chief officers in Akbar’s service. He succeeded his father in 1614, and died of drink in 1621. Jahāngīr makes frequent mention of him in his Memoirs, chiefly in connexion with his receiving official honours.

The inscription on the back, written by Mir ‘Alī, is as follows:

‘O Lord, in Thy mercy give life unto my heart.
Give the medicine of patience to the pain of the sick.
How can Thy servant know what he ought to ask?
Thow knowest; grant whatever is best.’

This inscription has a background of gold, decorated with flowers and beasts—among them a phoenix, a griffin, an ostrich, hares, and cranes.

(24.6 × 16.3 cm.)



- (17) *By 'Abd al-Karīm, Nādir al-Aṣrī* (a pupil of Maṣṣūr, to whom Jahāngīr gave the title of Nādir al-Aṣr ('the marvel of the age'). (Memoirs, II, p. 20.) A prince reading a book.
(17.1 × 8.8 cm.)
- (18) Plate 64. *By Farrukh Beg*, painted in the seventieth year of his age. A page in a garden, standing in front of a fruit tree in full bloom; he wears a long yellow robe, covered with a purple cloak, richly embroidered in gold with a pattern of Chinese clouds; over his right shoulder hangs a green and gold scarf. Farrukh Beg was an artist of Qilmāq origin who entered the service of Akbar in A.D. 1585. He is mentioned by Abū'l-Faẓl as a painter of renown, and Jahāngīr admired his talents; he records in his Memoirs that, in the year 1609, he rewarded him with 2,000 rupees, and speaks of him as 'unrivalled in the age'. Farrukh Beg's pictures always retain marked Persian characteristics, but the present portrait does not display his gifts of colour and design at their best.
(18.2 × 10.8 cm.)
- (19) Plate 65 (colour). *By Bichitr*. Three of the Mughal Emperors, seated on richly decorated golden thrones; in the centre, Akbar, who is handing a golden crown set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds to Shāh Jahān, seated on his left; on his right is Jahāngīr. Below the platform on which the thrones of the Emperors are set, there stand (below Jahāngīr), I'timād al-Dawlah, the father of Nur Jahān, favourite wife of Jahāngīr; (below Akbar) Khān A'zam, the foster-brother of Akbar and one of the most competent of his generals; (below Shāh Jahān) Āṣaf Khān, the father of Mumtāz Maḥall, favourite wife of Shāh Jahān. The throne of Akbar is supported by four golden-winged cherubs, those of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, by short pillars, obviously copied from late Renaissance work. The base of Akbar's throne is decorated with elephants, the other two with the lion lying down with the sheep, and other motives. Before each throne stands a golden footstool, and on that in front of Shāh Jahān the painter has signed his name. The thrones rest on a magnificent carpet, spread over a white marble platform, the front and steps of which are inlaid with various coloured marbles. A somewhat similar picture is illustrated in Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, plate CLIX (Collection of Mme la Comtesse de Béarn).
(29.7 × 20.5 cm.)

B. To another album or albums must have belonged the following series (also of nineteen pages), Nos. 20–38, which bear no old serial numbers.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. The pages measure 38.5 × 26.5 cm. (slightly variable owing to their having been trimmed); the paintings are of various sizes, which are given under the descriptions.

DATE. Approximately contemporary with, but perhaps rather later than, *A* above.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The borders of these pictures contain a number of small human figures, whose character is congruous with that of the central personage represented in each case, with the exception of No. 27 which has animals, as being the companions of Majnūn, and No. 28.

On the reverse of nearly all these paintings are Persian verses and floral designs.

- (20) Plate 66. A nobleman, resting under a mango tree, with a bow and arrow lying at his feet. He appears to be identical with 'Izzat Khān, whose portrait (by Muḥammad Nadir of Samarqand) is in the British Museum (Add. 18801) (see Dr. F. R. Martin

Miniatures and Miniature Painters of Persia, &c., plate 188). This man was a military officer in the service of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān successively; he rose to be governor of Bhakkar, in Sind, where he died in 1633. On his right hand is his son, and on his left a musician playing on a kind of violin, while next to him another beats time on a drum. To the right of the picture are three servants, one of whom is drinking from a pool, which extends along the bottom of the picture. On the left is another group of attendants, with horses; also a *sannyāsi* with a rosary in his hand, and a crook, a water-vessel, and a bundle of peacock feathers lying beside him. A brilliant sunset sky shows behind the group of trees, under which the party is resting.

In the borders are panels containing six somewhat grotesque, seated figures, together with deer, partridges, and other birds.

On the reverse are Persian verses, unsigned, with stiffly arranged flowers in their natural colours in the margins.

(Oblong, 17 × 22·8 cm.)

- (21) The Emperor Akbar on horseback, facing left, in a flowery meadow, against a green and gold sky, with a falcon on his right wrist and a bow-case hanging from his saddle. He wears a magenta dress, a white turban bound with scarlet, and he has a gold halo; his horse is dark dun.

In the margin, above, are two angels, one carrying a turban, the other a globe. In the right-hand margin are an attendant carrying a gun, and two others with falcons on their wrists. Below, two deer and two cranes by the side of a stretch of water.

On the reverse are verses and designs similar to those of No. 20.

(16·2 × 10·9 cm.)

- (22) Plate 67. A nobleman, unnamed, leaning on a long sword. His appearance somewhat resembles the portrait by Muḥammad Nādir of Samarqand in British Museum Add. 18801, reproduced by Dr. F. R. Martin, *Miniatures and Miniature Painters of Persia, &c.*, plate 189. His name was A'zam Khān Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir; he came originally from 'Irāq and took service under the Emperor Jahāngir, who made him governor of Kashmir; under Shāh Jahān he filled several important posts in the Deccan, Gujarāt, and elsewhere, and died in 1649 at the age of 76. In the margin are seven typical examples of noblemen.

On the reverse a quatrain written by Mīr 'Alī. In the margins a design of vine leaves and bunches of grapes, with small birds, kingfishers, magpies, partridges, and parrots.

(18·2 × 10·7 cm.)

- (23) A dervish, unnamed, in a black coat, with a cap made of tiger-skin and a tiger-skin hanging on his shoulder. In the margins are seven typical examples of dervishes. On the reverse a quatrain copied by Mīr 'Alī; in the margins a conventionalized flower pattern.

(16·5 × 10·4 cm.)

- (24) *By Bichitr*. A group of holy men, three kneeling, with a fourth standing behind them. That the personages are quite imaginary is evidenced by the minute inscription written below the foremost figure:

'Picture of Shaykh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, by Bichitr the painter, servant of the Emperor Shāh Jahān Ghāzī.'

In the margins are typical examples of devout persons, three standing, four kneeling. On the reverse are verses by 'Alī, with floral designs in the margins.

(18·2 × 10·4 cm.)

- (25) Plate 68. *By Dilwarat*. A portrait of Shāh Dawlat, a dervish with a white beard, standing, bare-foot, facing left, clad in a long white shirt, with a light green sheet over it, and a multi-coloured shawl round his shoulders.



In the left-hand margin of the picture is an inscription, in the handwriting of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, the translation of which is: 'The portrait of Shaykh Dawlat, who has settled in Gujrāt, Lahore. Painted by Dilwarat.'

Shah Dawlat is regarded as the patron saint of the city of Gujrāt in the Punjab, where his tomb is still revered; he is said to have been born in the year 1581 during the reign of Akbar and to have lived on until 1676 in the reign of Awrangzeb. His intercession is sought by childless parents, and rat-children are said to be born through his agency: they are microcephalous, with large ears and rat-like faces, devoid of speech and understanding.

No. 14 contains another portrait perhaps of this saint.

In the upper, right-hand, and lower margins are typical examples of dervishes, three standing and four seated.

On the reverse are two verses from Sa'di's *Bustān*, written by Mir 'Alī; in the margins, flowers and birds.

(16.6 × 10.4 cm.)

- (26) Plate 69. A dervish, with a long white beard, wearing a green turban and a plain brown gown, seated under a tree, with a young musician in front of him, and, on his left, a soldier with sword and shield.

There is no indication as to the name of this dervish or of the painter of the picture.

In the upper, right-hand, and lower margins are nine seated figures, representing various types of dervishes.

On the reverse are some Persian verses; the margins are decorated with conventionalized patterns of leaves and flowers, with pairs of birds set in the panels.

(20.7 × 13.5 cm.)

- (27) Plate 70. Majnūn, the distraught lover, visited by a messenger from Laylā. Majnūn, who is dressed in a white under-garment, is seated on the ground in a hilly desert landscape, with four deer near him. Laylā's messenger, who is in sage green, stands bending towards Majnūn.

In the margins are lions, deer, and black buck, and Laylā, in a camel-litter, is seen in the top right-hand corner coming through a gap in the hills; beyond her is a city, obviously copied from some European print.

On the reverse is a specimen of Mir 'Alī's writing; in the margins a floral design with small birds.

(18 × 11.6 cm.)

- (28) *By Pāk*. The Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the prime of life, standing on the globe, facing right, against a light green sky; he wears a brown costume, richly decorated with gold, and a gold plumed turban, with a rayed halo; in his left hand he holds a gun, and with his right hand he fingers a fine necklace of pearls, rubies, and emeralds. In the background is a drawing of a fortified city on a precipitous hill, obviously suggested by some European original; in the lower right-hand corner is a group of the Emperor's courtiers. Women are issuing from the city, while cavalry advance towards it on the left.

This page is clearly from a different album from the preceding ones.

On the reverse is a prose fragment in Persian. There is an inner narrow border of scarlet poppies and blue flowers; in the margins are flowers in their natural colours also.

(20.4 × 11.5 cm.)

- (29) *By La'l Chand*. Portrait of a noble of the Court of Shāh Jahān. He wears a purple coat over a green dress, a purple turban bound with white, and crimson trousers, and he leans on a long staff. In the margin are seven typical courtiers, three standing and four seated.



On the reverse is a specimen of calligraphy by 'Alī; in the margin are flowers, goats, and *nilgāes*.

(19.5 × 11.6 cm.)

- (30) By *Ḥalāl Qulī*. Portrait of a person unnamed, dressed in white, and holding a green and crimson scroll on which are written a prayer and the artist's name. The background is green; in the margin are seven typical court officials, three standing and four seated. On the reverse is a specimen of calligraphy by Mir 'Alī; in the margins are flowers and some birds.

(19.5 × 11.4 cm.)

- (31) Artist unknown. Portrait of a person unnamed, dressed in white, and carrying a shield and sword. The face is in three-quarter profile. In the margins are verses in four panels.

On the reverse is some calligraphy by Shāh Maḥmūd.

(13.2 × 8.6 cm.)

- (32) Portrait of a Mughal nobleman, standing, facing left, against a green background. He wears a purple dress, a gold and white brocaded belt, a white shawl with a red border, and a black and gold turban. His trousers are striped and the slippers crimson.

In the margins are seven standing and kneeling figures of attendants.

(19.4 × 11.6 cm.)

- (33) Portrait of Mahābat Khān, standing, facing right, on a green sward against a green background. He wears a white dress with gold stripes, a gold-brocaded sash and gold-embroidered trousers, purple and gold turban and shoes, and a pearl necklace and ear-ring. He carries a sword and dagger. In the margins are seven standing and seated figures, all but one being apparently attendants.

On the reverse are calligraphic verses by 'Alī, al-Kātib; in the margins are deer and goats with floral designs.

The identification of the subject of this portrait with Mahābat Khān rests on a comparison with other portraits. (Vide Brown, *Indian Paintings under the Mughals*, plate 58; Binyon and Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, plate 20; Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, plate CLXV; Ivan Stchoukine, *Portraits Moghols, Deux Darbār de Ḥāhāngīr* (Extrait de la Revue des Arts Asiatiques, 1931), plate LIV, p. 225.)

Mahābat Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, was one of the leading figures of Jahāngīr's reign. A military leader of great talent, he commanded the army that suppressed the rebellion of Shāh Jahān in 1623. Three years later, having incurred the hostility of Nūr Jahān, he seized the Emperor and held him as prisoner for several months; but the Empress succeeded in freeing him. Mahābat Khān thereupon came to terms with Shāh Jahān, who made him governor of Delhi in 1630, and subsequently viceroy of the Deccan, where he died in 1633. He was described by Sir Thomas Roe in 1616 as a noble and generous man, much beloved.

(19.4 × 11.5 cm.)

- (34) Portrait of a Hindu nobleman, short and stout in figure, standing, facing partly to the right, on a dark flowered sward. He wears a gold dress embroidered with purple flowers, a small white turban, a brocaded orange sash, and he carries a sword, dagger, and stick. Behind him are two seated figures, faintly drawn, apparently representing a holy man and his disciple, with a dog lying before them.

A word, perhaps 'Pak' (the artist) is written to the right of the picture near the bottom.

In the margins are six figures of attendants with arms.

(16.6 × 10.5 cm.)



- (35) Plate 71. *By Hunhār*. Portrait of Rustam Khān, inscribed 'Portrait of Rustam Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, painted by Hunhār'. He is represented as a man in early middle age, and stands facing left, on a flowery sward, against a light green background. He wears a white dress, a white flowered plumed turban, gold-embroidered sash, and red boots. He carries, suspended from his shoulder, a large black circular shield, and a scimitar, and his hands rest on the hilt of a long straight sword. In the margins are seven jewellers, armourers, and attendants carrying weapons, on a gold decorated ground.

Rustam Khān, Dakhinī, was a brave and distinguished soldier in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He was given his title of Firūz Jang, or 'Victorious in War', after a fine feat of arms at the battle of Arghandāb in 1649, and he died in 1658 fighting valiantly on the side of Dārā Shikoh at the momentous battle of Samūgarh, as a result of which Awrangzeb was enabled to seize the throne of Delhi.

(20.5 × 13.2 cm.)

- (36) Plate 72. *By Hāshim*. Portrait of Khān Dawrān, Naṣrat-i-Jang. A grey-bearded noble, in late life, stands, facing right, leaning on a long staff, against a green background. He wears a white gold-embroidered dress, a white turban bound with gold, a gold belt, mauve embroidered sash, green trousers, and crimson slippers. He bears a sword and dagger.

In the margins are seven armed courtiers and attendants.

Khān Dawrān was one of the leading soldiers of the reign of Shāh Jahān. After experiencing considerable vicissitudes, and attaining great military renown, especially in the Deccan, where he was Viceroy, he was murdered in 1645, by a Kashmīrī Brahman whom he had converted to Islam. His original name was Khwājah Ṣabir, and he received, in succession, the titles of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Naṣrī Khān, and Khān (i) Dawrān.

[Some doubt arises as to the identity of the subject of this portrait. An almost exact replica belonging to the India Office (Johnson I) is reproduced in Binyon and Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, plate XXX, and in Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, plate 90. This second portrait is inscribed 'Nawāb Asad Khān'. It was also shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition in 1931, No. 18.

Asad Khān was a favourite noble of Shāh Jahān, and later chief minister of Awrangzeb. He died in 1716, aged 90.

A careful comparison between the two versions suggests that the one in this Collection is the original, the other being a tracing. The latter is painted on thin paper, similar to tracing paper, on which the paint has not adhered properly in some places, and the drawing is slightly inferior. As regards the identification, if the portrait is of Asad Khān, it can hardly be earlier than 1686, which seems to be much too late. The inscription at the base of the India Office version does not appear to be contemporary, and it is written on an added slip of paper. J. V. S. W.]

(21.5 × 13.8 cm.)

- (37) Portrait of a Mughal noble, standing in a flowery meadow, facing right, against an emerald sky with bright cloud effects. He wears a white flowered dress, crimson and gold trousers, orange shoes, cream-coloured turban, and brocaded sash, and he carries a black shield, a sword, and a dagger.

The margins contain seven figures, all excepting one of whom are sages, four sitting and three standing.

On the reverse is a calligraphic fragment by Mir 'Alī. The margins are beautifully decorated with coloured flower forms.

(23.8 × 13.2 cm.)



- (38) Eight damsels bathing in a lotus tank by moonlight. In the background a square tower, taken from a European picture, rises among trees and reflects the light of a half-concealed moon; in the middle distance a stooping hunter is stalking some bucks.

The margins contain seven female figures on a gold-patterned buff paper. They are in Mughal dress; four of them are seated examining jewel boxes, and the other three are standing.

(23.1 × 16.3 cm.)

8

SILSILAH AL-DHAHAB

PLATE 73

Purchased from Luzac & Co., London, 1924.

An early seventeenth-century manuscript of the *Silsilah al-Dhahab*, a religious *mathnawī*, by Jāmī.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The *Silsilah al-Dhahab*, 'The chain of gold', was composed by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī in A.H. 890 = A.D. 1485. In this manuscript the poem is divided as usual into three books, each of which has a separate *'unwān*.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 26.2 × 17.4 cm.; the written surface measures 19.8 × 9.5 cm., double cols. of 13 lines and diagonal script in the margins; the first miniature measures 18.5 × 11.6 cm., the others measure 20.5 × 9.5 cm.; folios 123.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear *nasta'liq*, that in the narrower marginal column being smaller in size and arranged diagonally. The columns are divided from each other by two narrow gold lines, with a space of half a centimetre between them. A band of gold and a thin ruling of red and blue enclose each page. The gold-sprinkled paper is of an agreeable biscuit colour, reset within modern margins by the present owner, the old margins having been badly worm-eaten.

BINDING. Re-bound in modern Bokhara brown binding (signed, *Aḥmad Shāshī, son of Shaikh 'Alī Qarātāī, 1259* (= 1843)), which has taken the place of the older dark leather binding which was badly damaged.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date is given in the colophon as A.H. 1022 = A.D. 1613. The scribe's name is Muḥammad Qāsim, who made this copy for the library of a Nawāb whose name has been partially erased, but it is perhaps probably Nawāb Murtazā Qulī Bukhārī.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There are three *'unwāns* at the heading of each book (folios 1 b, 73 b, 103 b) in gold and colours, and four miniatures, the last two of which are of a period at least a hundred years later than the first two.

The subjects of the separate miniatures are as follows:

- (1) fol. 54 b. Hishām, son of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, wished to kiss the black stone, while making a perambulation of the Ka'bah at Mecca, but could not reach it because of the crowd. While he stood aside for a better opportunity, he saw Imām Zāyn al-'Ābidīn, the great-grandson of 'Alī, approach the black stone without any

difficulty, this being possible because of his saintliness. Zayn al-'Ābidin is depicted before the stone.

This picture exhibits, except for the subtlety of the colouring, the general characteristics of the school of Akbar (*ob.* 1605), and it is well known that several of this Emperor's painters continued to work during the reign of his son. The painter, like most of those who worked for Akbar, was probably a Hindu, for the picture is remarkable for the ignorance it displays of the construction of the Ka'bah, though fairly correct representations of it were common both before and during this period. The painter has set the Ka'bah on a high broad platform, and has placed the black stone just below the door, instead of at one of the corners of the erection, about five feet from the ground.

- (2) fol. 61. Plate 73. Majnūn in the desert, protecting a fawn that has taken refuge from a hunter, who looks on, with his finger at his lip, in the conventional gesture of surprise. The piled-up rocks in the background, and the little town, obviously copied from some European print, are characteristic features of the pictures of the Akbar school.
- (3) fol. 72 b. Farhād cutting a road through the mountain Bisitūn, in order to win the love of Shīrīn. In the foreground are a black buck, its does, and some hares.
- (4) fol. 73. Khusraw and Shīrīn riding out to hunt beside a stream. In the foreground a cheetah has killed a black buck; the background of dark green trees is surmounted by a stormy sky.

These two pictures (3) and (4) show the characteristic features of the Hindu art of the eighteenth century in the treatment of landscape, the dark sky of the rainy season, and the conventional representation of the prince and princess riding.

9

MAJMA' AL-GHARĀ'IB

PLATE 74

Purchased at Sotheby's, 1922.

A seventeenth-century manuscript of the Majma' al-Gharā'ib (a collection of things strange and rare), compiled by Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Darwish Muḥammad al-Muṭṭī al-Balkhī in A.D. 1555.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The work was compiled by the author for the amusement of his master, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, shortly after he became ruler of Balkh, in 1555. Sulṭān Muḥammad explains in his preface that having found on several occasions when he was in the company of persons of high rank, that they were interested in his account of the various items of knowledge which he happened to come across in his reading, he resolved to make a collection of remarkable facts of natural history and other branches of human knowledge, for presentation to the Shaybānīd Sultan.

He divided his book into the following chapters, dealing with the marvels of (1) the heavenly spheres, including an account of angels, the planets, the signs of the zodiac, heaven, and hell; (2) the characteristics and miracles of the prophets; (3) countries and cities; (4) man and human monstrosities; (5) animals; (6) plants; (7) seas and rivers; (8) mountains and springs; (9) churches and cemeteries; (10) deserts; (11) the length,



breadth, and depth of some seas and rivers; (12) distances between some famous cities; (13) physiognomy; (14) witty sayings and anecdotes; (15) dates of notable events; (16) wise utterances of learned men; (17) jewels and precious stones.

The last pages of the text are missing.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 27.5 × 16.4 cm.; the written surface measures (generally) 20.2 × 10.5 cm.; 15 lines; folios 158. The miniatures are of varying sizes, some extending across the page, and others being less than half the width of the text.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a bold, distinct *nasta'liq*, with chapter-headings in gold, and frequent names and titles in red ink. The paper is rather thinner than usual and is of a light brown colour; some of the margins have been repaired.

BINDING. The manuscript was re-bound, probably early in the nineteenth century, in coarse, polished brown leather, decorated with a narrow border pattern in gold.

DATE AND SCRIBE. No date is given, and the colophon is lost; but in all probability the manuscript belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There is one illuminated '*unwān*' at the beginning of the text (fol. 1 b) in blue, gold, and colours.

There are 86 pictures, all of which are contained in the first 79 folios, reminiscent of the illustrations commonly found in Persian translations of Qazwīnī's '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*'. They exhibit the characteristics of the painting of the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628–59), with its high technical accomplishment, its predilection for soft, subdued colouring, its delicacy of treatment, and its growing tendency to eschew vigour of action. There is a restrained and dainty use of gold in decorative details, especially on turbans and girdles. Another noticeable feature (rare in Indian painting) of these pictures is the representation of the nude.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows:

- (1) fol. 7. Plate 74 (a). An angel, represented as a winged mermaid.
- (2) fol. 7 b. A winged and two-headed horse.
- (3) fol. 8. A winged human figure with a leopard's head.

Next follow pictorial representations of the planets, viz.:

- (4) fol. 8 b. The moon, riding on two oxen.
- (5) fol. 9. The sun, riding on two horses.
- (6) fol. 9 b. Saturn, on a car drawn by winged goats.
- (7) fol. 10. Plate 74 (b). Jupiter, on a car drawn by a horse, a cow, a buffalo, and a camel.
- (8) fol. 10 b. Mars, on a disk drawn by a dog, a bear, a hyena, and a wolf.
- (9) „ Venus, riding a goat.

Next follow the signs of the zodiac, viz.:

- (10, 11) fol. 11. Taurus and Gemini.
- (12, 13) fol. 11 b. Cancer and Leo.
- (14) fol. 12. Mercury.
- (15) fol. 12 b. Aries.
- (16) fol. 13. Virgo.



- (17, 18) fol. 13 b. Libra and Scorpio.
 (19, 20) fol. 14. Sagittarius and Capricorn.
 (21) fol. 14 b. Aquarius.
 (22) fol. 15. Pisces.
 (23) fol. 20 b. The prophet Ṣāliḥ bidding the camel come out of a rock.
 (24-44) folios 54-8 b. Human monstrosities.
 (45) fol. 59. A Jew.
 (46) fol. 60. A wolf.
 (47) fol. 61 b. The Arab who caught a deer by outrunning it.
 (48-56) folios 64 b-7. Animal monstrosities.
 (57-63) folios 67-9 b. Birds.
 (64-77) folios 69 b-72 b. Fishes
 (73-6) folios 72 b-3. Birds.
 (82, 83) fol. 73 b. Two other animal monstrosities.
 (84) fol. 74. An elephant.
 (85) fol. 74 b. A rhinoceros.
 (86) fol. 79 b. A carving of a horse on the face of a rock.

IO

NAYRANG-I-'ISHQ

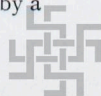
PLATE 75

Purchased from Vignier, Paris.

A late seventeenth-century manuscript of the Nayrang-i-'ishq, 'The sorcery of love', a Persian *mathnawī* poem by Muḥammad Akram, called *G*hanimat.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The author, Muḥammad Akram, whose pen-name was *G*hanimat, was a native of the Panjāb, and was in the service of the governor of Lahore from 1694-6, during the reign of Awrangzeb; he was a Ṣūfī of the Qādiri order, and wrote a *Diwān* as well as the present poem, which he completed in A.H. 1096 (= A.D. 1685), a few years before his death in A.H. 1110 (= A.D. 1698-9).

The story of the poem is said to be based upon incidents in real life, which occurred during the lifetime of the poet. An orphan boy, named Shāhid, was sold by his mother to a band of wandering minstrels who brought him up as a singer and dancer. The fame of Shāhid's dancing reached the ears of 'Aziz, a son of the governor of the province, and when they met, 'Aziz became infatuated with him. At first the governor disapproved of his son's violent attachment for this dancer, but recognizing the strength of his feelings he gave permission for their intimacy. On the advice of his father, 'Aziz arranged for the education of Shāhid, and sometime later gave him permission to return to his home in order to see his mother; but, unable to endure separation, followed him in the guise of a messenger and persuaded him to return. On a later occasion, while out hunting, Shāhid fell in love with a village girl, named Wafā, the daughter of the headman of the village. While he was staying in her father's house, they were both carried away as prisoners by a



band of Afghan raiders; they were rescued by 'Aziz, and Wafā returned to her father's house. But when Shahid secretly sent a messenger to her, Wafā was persuaded to run away from her father's house and join him; whereupon they were married, and disappeared from that neighbourhood. 'Aziz, after having sought in vain for his beloved Shahid, died of grief.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 21.8 × 16.2 cm.; the written surface measures 14.7 × 7.5 cm.; double columns of 15 lines; 61 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a legible *nasta'liq*, the columns being divided from one another by two narrow lines of gold, with a space of about half a centimetre between them. The text on each page is surrounded by a band of gold; the headings of the various sections of the poems are in red. The paper is rather thin and is gold-sprinkled throughout, and the manuscript has been entirely re-margined.

BINDING. The manuscript is bound in painted boards, the outsides of which are decorated with a twisted-band pattern of gold, variegated with red and other colours, on a black background, a portion of which, surrounding the centre panel, is left clear, while the outer margin has a floral decoration in silver over the black background.

DATE AND SCRIBE. In the colophon the copyist had written out the date in words, but the year has been erased—probably by a dealer who wished to represent the manuscript as older than it really is. The date, however, has also been written a little higher up, in minute red figures. We therefore have a record that the copying was completed on the 10th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, 1101 (= 15th August, A.D. 1690) during the lifetime of the author.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There is one '*unwān* in gold and colours on fol. 1 b. The margins of the first two pages are decorated with a floral pattern in gold, and the lines of the text are written on cloud-forms with a gold background.

The illustrations are extremely favourable examples of the art of the period—if indeed they are not even later than the text. They are skilfully drawn and very delicately coloured.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows:

- (1) fol. 4 b. The saint, 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (*ob.* A.D. 1166), towards whom the author had a special devotion, as being the founder of the Qādirī order of which he was himself a member.
The saint, who wears a green turban, is furnished with a halo, and is seated on a gilt throne against a green background. Three angels pour down rays of gold upon his head.
- (2) fol. 6. Two bearded figures seated on a green carpet on a balcony in front of a roofed doorway, on which a bird is sitting. The figure on the left holds a rosary, and that on the right a book, from which he is reading.
The picture probably represents the author reading one of his poems to his spiritual preceptor, Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad, of the Qādirī order, to whose praise the verses on this page are devoted.
- (3) fol. 10. Majnūn protesting to the hunter who captured the deer which Majnūn had tamed.
Both figures are standing against a green hill, behind which are trees and rocks, with various birds and animals. In the foreground is the deer caught in a snare. The hunter is dressed in green, Majnūn wears nothing but a blue waist-cloth; on his shoulder is perched a green parrot.
- (4) fol. 11 b. The death of the father of Shahid, when the latter was still a child.
The body lies on a bed attended by two mourning women. In the background is a

terrace railing and a roofed hut, within which the naked child is lying; the night is indicated by a light burning above him and a dark sky.

- (5) fol. 14. 'Azīz, the son of the governor, hears of the fame of Shāhid as a dancer. 'Azīz, who is smoking a *huqqah*, is seated on a carpeted terrace with courtiers and attendants, and a messenger sits facing him. There is a considerable amount of gold in the picture, the architecture is mostly white, and there is a dark night sky.
- (6) fol. 21 b. Shāhid dancing before 'Azīz.
In composition and painting this picture closely resembles the preceding one. 'Azīz is seated as before on a palace terrace, with two candles burning in the foreground. Shāhid is sumptuously dressed in brown and gold.
- (7) fol. 35 b. Plate 75 (a). Shāhid at school.
Shāhid sits confronting his teacher on a white platform before a triple archway. Seven other school children are reading, writing, and conversing.
- (8) fol. 41 b. 'Azīz, disguised as a messenger, visiting Shāhid.
Shāhid, gaily dressed in red and gold, is seated on a golden throne before a white building, with two attendants standing behind him. 'Azīz, simply dressed in white, stands behind him.
- (9) fol. 46. Plate 75 (b). Shāhid, while hunting, meets Wafā and other village girls at the well.
The three women whom Shāhid is addressing are standing on the well platform under a tree. Behind the high horizon appear Shāhid's elephant and attendants, most of whom are dressed, like him, in green.
- (10) fol. 54 b. Wafā conversing with the messenger of Shāhid.
Wafā and the other four female figures of the picture are seated on a white platform in front of a red and white building; a dog is sitting before them.
- (11) fol. 60. The separation of 'Azīz and Shāhid is typified in the story of the hopeless love of the nightingale and the dove, who were kept in separate cages.
The picture shows a youth seated with crossed legs on a red platform; the two cages stand on either side of him. In the background is a stream with a washerman at work, and behind him are a mosque and minutely drawn figures, the European perspective being very noticeable.

II A.

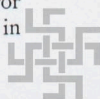
SEPARATE MINIATURES OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL. (I-LXXIV)

PLATES 76 TO 93

(Plates 80, 89, and 90 in colour.)

PROVENANCE. Acquired privately and by purchase.

- I. Plate 76. *By Pāk (?)*. A leaf from an album, containing a portrait of Rājā Mān Singh. Mān Singh, the son or adopted son of the Rājā of Amber (the modern Jaipur), was taken into Akbar's service in 1562 in the sixth year of his reign, when the Emperor married the daughter of the then Rājā. Mān Singh had a distinguished career in



SEPARATE MINIATURES OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL

Akbar's army, was appointed governor of Bihār, and by his conquests added Orissa and Eastern Bengal to the Mughal Empire. He succeeded his father in 1589, but remained in charge of Bengal until the last year of Akbar's reign. His sister was married to Jahāngīr, who frequently makes mention of Mān Singh in his Memoirs. He died in 1614 while serving with Jahāngīr's armies in the Deccan. Sixty out of his 1,500 wives burned themselves on his funeral pyre.

This portrait, by one of Jahāngīr's painters, represents the Rājā in advanced age when he had grown stout and his hair and moustache had become white. It obviously once formed part of a royal album, and has been set within coloured borders with gold designs, with an outer border of flowers painted in their natural colours.

On the reverse is a Persian poem, set within coloured borders with gold designs. The outer margin contains a rocky landscape, with a tiger and a lion threatening to spring upon deer, and various birds, partridges, peacocks, and pheasants; touches of colour are supplied by flowers, naturalistically treated.

(14.7 × 8 cm.; dimensions of the page are 33.4 × 21.5 cm.)

II. A leaf from the same album as No. 1 above.

A tiger, watched by two jackals, is represented as about to spring upon two seated deer, while (below) a lion threatens two fawns. Peacocks, pheasants, and other birds are scattered over the rocky landscape, all depicted in gold, but in the case of the flowers and bushes a few touches of colour are added to the decorative scheme.

The decoration in the outer margins of this leaf is similar to that of No. 1.

On the reverse is a portrait of 'Alī Mardān Khān, a Persian who took service under Shāh Jahān in 1637, and, after serving with distinction as a military commander and as governor of Kashmir and Kabul, died in 1657.

This picture is a replica of one in the possession of H.H. the Mahārāna of Udaipur, which was exhibited in the Loan Collection of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911. (Plate LII of the Catalogue of the Loan Collection.)

(14 × 7.5 cm.; dimensions of the page are 33.4 × 22.5 cm.)

III. Plate 77. A drawing, in a kind of grisaille, of a nude man seated on a rock beneath a tree; over his left shoulder hangs a lion skin; his hair is rather long and matted, and he has a short beard; he is leaning one elbow on his right knee, with his hand under his chin; between his legs rests a mattock; his dejected expression and attitude suggest that he is intended to represent Adam after his expulsion from Eden. The picture is obviously a copy of a European engraving or woodcut—possibly an Italian work of the sixteenth century, by some follower of Giulio Romano. The outer border is filled in with conventionalized flowers painted in gold.

On the reverse is a Persian quatrain, copied by Mir 'Alī.

(16.9 × 9.1 cm.; dimensions of the page are 35.5 × 21.5 cm.)

IV. Plate 78 b. A pen-drawing, perhaps of the Emperor Jahāngīr, seated on the ground, about to fire his gun, which he holds pressed against his right shoulder, while the barrel of his gun is supported by a foot-rest.

(10.1 × 10.9 cm.)

V. A standing portrait of Tīrandāz Khān Farrukhsiyar, who was governor of Aḥmadābād in the reign of the Emperor Shāh Jahān (1628–59). In allusion to the meaning of his name (Tīrandāz, 'archer'), he holds in one hand a bow, and in the other an arrow. He wears a purple dress.

(15.3 × 10.2 cm.)

VI. Plate 79 (a). A small oval portrait of an infant prince, wearing a tight-fitting, gold-embroidered cap and a rich embroidered dress, and holding in his hand a gold, bejewelled rattle. The portrait probably represents one of the sons of Shāh Jahān.

(3.5 × 3 cm.)

- VII. A portrait of Nawāb Sālār Jang Bahādūr, a military officer in the army of the Nizām of Haydarābād; he was associated with Šamšām al-Dawlah Shāhnawāz Khān, Diwān of Birār, in the middle of the eighteenth century. He is clothed entirely in white, with a white turban, and is seated leaning against a large white bolster; he holds in his hand the red stem of a hookah. The drawing is unfinished.

(22.2 × 13 cm.)

- VIII. Plate 78(a). A line-drawing, slightly coloured; being a portrait of Šamšām al-Dawlah Khān Dawrān Khān Bahādūr, a noble who served under the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719–49), and received from him the title of Amir al-Umarā. On the reverse is calligraphy.

(25.6 × 16 cm.)

- IX. A small painting, entitled 'A picture of the Emperor Shāh Jahān'. On a gilt label at the top of the picture are some traces of letters, which probably indicated the subject represented, but they cannot be deciphered with certainty. The incident depicted appears to be the presentation to the Emperor of a gold casket, which a merchant or messenger has taken out of an irregularly shaped leather bundle. The Emperor, who is seated on a platform of red sandstone covered with a rich carpet, leans forward eagerly to look at the casket, which an attendant humbly proffers for his inspection. The painting actually appears to represent the Emperor Jahāngīr, with whose reign (1605–28) it seems to be contemporary. On the reverse are Persian verses.

(10.2 × 5.5 cm.)

- X. Plate 80 (colour). A vulture perched on rocks. The character of the painting, and its delicate and minute workmanship, suggest that this picture is the work of Manšūr, the famous animal painter who enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Jahāngīr. At a later period a mutilated copy of some verses by Sa'dī (from the preface to his *Gulistān*) has been pasted above and below the picture. 'When the door is closed, who can tell whether he is a seller of jewels or a blower of glass? Though, according to the wise, silence is good manners, yet at the fitting moment it is better for you to speak.'

(14.4 × 12 cm.)

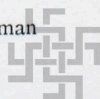
- XI. Plate 81. A copy of a European picture. This copy is by one of Akbar's painters, Sānwlah (whose signature appears on the gold vessel in the lower left-hand corner). Two gentlemen are seen approaching, apparently with the intention of visiting a lady of rank (as may be judged from the gold circlet she wears on her head and the stately mansion in which she is seated); in the foreground a woman in a chair with uplifted right hand forbids them access, while on the left a bald-headed elderly man watches them through a pair of eye-glasses. In the background is a city, of a European type, in a rocky landscape. The colouring is strong and bright. On the right-hand upper corner of the picture has been impressed the seal of Muḥammad Sulṭān Salīm—the name of the Emperor Jahāngīr before he came to the throne. Above the picture are Persian verses copied by a calligraphist named Khalīl Allāh; others below by Maḥmūd.

On the reverse is a much later portrait of a young man, whose name has been erased, smoking a *huggah*.

(18.7 × 12.5 cm., the dimensions of the page are 30.7 × 20.8 cm.)

- XII. *By Manohar Dās*. A line-drawing, slightly coloured, of Majnūn and Laylā with animals, in the wilderness. Majnūn, who is represented as extremely emaciated, is seated, fondling a doe, and Laylā stands, holding a book.

The original, from which this picture was copied, was probably an Italian or German



woodcut of the sixteenth century, but the Indian painter has adapted his copy to Indian sentiment by representing the seated figure as Majnūn.

Manohar Dās was one of the painters of Jahāngīr's reign.¹

(14.9 × 9 cm.)

- XIII. Plate 82. A part-coloured drawing of the Nativity. An Indian copy of a European engraving. The Virgin kneels before the infant Christ, who is surrounded by a large gold halo. A company of angels fills the upper part of the picture; two others, of a Muhammadan rather than a Christian type, with feathers on their arms and chests, stand in adoration on the left; below are two oxen and two sheep. Early seventeenth century.

(15.4 × 10.8 cm.)

- XIV. Bust portrait of a girl, facing left, wearing a tall gilt cap, decorated with rubies and emeralds and strings of pearls; her garments are also edged with pearls, and she wears five pearl necklaces. She holds a rose in her right hand.

She is probably intended to represent a princess of the imperial family, and the style of painting resembles that of the reign of Shāh Jahān (A.D. 1628–59). The portrait, is, however, considerably later. The border contains red and blue conventional flowers on a stippled ground.

On the reverse is a quatrain by Mir 'Abd Allah Shīrīn-Raqam.

(Oval, 12 × 9 cm.)

- XV. Two young girls embracing, set in an irregular green oval. Probably painted in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

(5.8 × 4.5 cm.)

- XVI. A young girl, holding a rose, and wearing a transparent veil and bodice, with a string of pearls round her neck. Probably of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

(8.3 × 4.6 cm.)

- XVII. A girl wearing orange trousers, playing on a black and gold *vīnā*. A gazelle stands by her side. She is seated on the trunk of a flowering tree which branches out fantastically above her head. Eighteenth century.

(19.3 × 11.4 cm.)

- XVIII. Three English gentlemen, probably servants of the East India Company, seated on chairs under an awning. Late eighteenth century.

(20.6 × 14.8 cm.)

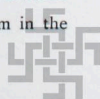
- XIX. Plate 83. *By Kesū*. A drawing, slightly coloured, of the Virgin and Child. An adaptation of a European engraving. The Virgin, holding the Child in her arms, is seated on a throne in the foreground, in front of an elaborate building. Beside her, on a chair, an elderly man is seated, holding a book and stick. In an upper chamber a man is reading to a woman. On the right a musician is playing on a zither, and there are groups of attendants and visitors.

Kesū was one of Akbar's artists, but the drawing appears to be subsequent to his reign. There is a double decorated border, and the outer margin is deep pink, with a gold design.

(19.5 × 14.6 cm.)

- XX. Plate 84. A drinking party. A Mughal personage in informal dress is seated with a lady under a tent; he embraces her with his left arm, and with his right offers her a cup. Two female attendants are seated near their mistress on the right, and a third reclines on a cushion in front of them, perhaps overcome by her potations. There are three male guests, one of whom is apparently a holy man, seated on the left; and three

¹ A somewhat more elaborate, but almost exactly similar, version of this miniature is in an album in the Gulistan Museum, Tehran. Both are similarly signed.



standing male attendants to right and left of the picture are holding a bow and arrows. In the foreground is a stream, with foliage, and in the background are an encampment and trees. Probably mid-seventeenth century.

(Oblong, 20.7 × 24.1 cm.)

XXI. Plate 85. A portrait inscribed 'Jalāl al-Dīn Khiljī'. Firūz Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn was Sultān of Delhi (A.D. 1290-6). The ascription is, however, clearly wrong, as Firūz Shāh was about seventy years old when he was elected to the throne of Delhi, and this portrait, which is, in fact, intended to represent the Emperor Humāyūn, is of a much younger man. The head-dress is crimson with a gold cap and black plume, the coat is green with brown fur, and the inner dress is scarlet; the background is grey.

On the reverse side is a Persian quatrain, dated A.H. 1116 (A.D. 1704-5), by Hidāyat Allāh Zarrīn-Qalam, which is perhaps about contemporary with the portrait.

(18.7 × 11 cm.)

XXII. Plate 86. A contemporary painting of Shāh Jahān (1628-58) standing on a globe. He holds a sword in his right hand and a jewel in his left, and is wearing a transparent muslin dress and purple trousers; he is furnished with a circular halo. Above him three winged cherubs, drawn in European style, hold a sword, a crown, and a circular canopy on which are inscribed, somewhat incorrectly, the names of the Emperor and his ancestors back to Timūr.

On the globe are depicted a lion and a lamb, lying side by side, typifying the peaceful conditions ensured by the Emperor's rule, the scales of justice, and two groups of courtiers, religious leaders, and other people; two persons hold scrolls on which are verses in praise of the Emperor. Plate 63 should be compared, the posture and some of the details being almost identical.

(24 × 16 cm.)

XXIII. Plate 87. By 'Alī Qulī. A prince, hunting, with attendants. The colouring of this painting is remarkable for its freshness, but the range of colours does not differ appreciably from that in more ambitious compositions of the period. The buildings and the rocks are mostly in varied tones of brown, pink, and mauve, and the costumes of the many figures show considerable diversity.

The picture bears the following inscriptions:—

- (1) On the building in the background is the name 'Alī Qulī', with the date 1025 (= 1616).
- (2) In gold, to the right of the prince's head, 'Bahrām Gūr', referring to the Sasanian Shāh of Persia, noted for his hunting exploits.
- (3) In gold, behind the prince's raised right arm, 'Copied by (*nāqilahu*) 'Alī Qulī'. 'Alī Qulī may possibly be identified with 'Alī Qulī Beg, who seems to have worked under Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia (1587-1629).¹

(35 × 20.7 cm.)

XXIV. Plate 88. By 'Alī Qulī. A drinking party. Two princes are seated together on a polygonal throne, holding cups, with attendants, musicians, and courtiers. Two Europeans in Portuguese dress are in the foreground. The colouring shows the same characteristics as in No. XXIII; but it is somewhat cruder.

Above the heads of the two central figures are inscriptions in gold letters; the figure on the right being named 'Qaiṣar of Rūm', and that on the left 'Khusraw Parwīz'. Khusraw, a famous Sasanian king of Persia, sought aid from Caesar against the rebel Bahrām Chubīn; and the picture perhaps illustrates their meeting.

Under the canopies, to right and left, are the words, 'Copied by 'Alī Qulī'. (Vide note to No. XXIII.)

(34.4 × 20.9 cm.)

¹ Vide Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Vol. I, p. 193.



XXV. Portrait of 'Abd Allah Qutb Shah. He stands, a young man with a fair complexion, facing right, against a green background. He wears a long green gold-embroidered dress and a muslin shawl with gold brocaded border, a gold belt and sash, a small purple and green turban with a double plume, and white slippers. The subject of this portrait was the last ruler but one of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda and Haydarābād. His character was not a forceful one, and his long reign (1626-72) was a period of trouble and national decline. Though he had welcomed Shāh Jahān when in rebellion against his father Jahāngir, he was forced, on Shāh Jahān's accession, to recognize his authority, and later incurred the relentless hostility of Awrangzeb. His powerful minister, Mir Jumla, went over to the Imperial service, and in 1656 Golconda suffered a memorable siege, which, however, was broken off by Shāh Jahān's orders. The portrait may date from the latter part of the seventeenth century, but it is probably later.

(20 × 8.3 cm.)

XXVI. Plate 89 (colour). Akbar visiting Bābā Bilās. An illustration to the *Akbar-Nāmā*, or 'History of Akbar', written in Persian, by Abu'l-Fazl; the relevant passage being partially contained on the reverse of this page, which, presumably, belonged to the complete work.

Bābā Bilās was a holy saint of Ghaznīn, where Akbar was sent by his father Humāyūn at the end of the year A.D. 1551, and where he spent six months. He was at that time nine years old. Abu'l-Fazl¹ says that Akbar frequently visited the saint, who discerned in him the signs of greatness, and told him of his future eminence.

This painting would appear to date from the early years of the seventeenth century. The colouring is bright and pleasing; the buildings are of red sandstone, and the rocks are in various tones; the costumes, which seem to be drawn with historical accuracy and belong to the period of Humāyūn, shown great diversity of colouring.

The text on the reverse is written horizontally and diagonally, in a clear *nasta'liq* of high quality, on a gold-sprinkled paper, between margins ruled in gold and colours.

(28.9 × 17.2 cm.)

XXVII. Plate 90 (colour). The Emperor Awrangzeb shooting *nilgāes*. The Emperor, who is kneeling on a carpet, has just fired at a *nilgāe*, which is falling to the ground. Green-clad hunt attendants with decoy *nilgāes* are on either side of the Emperor. The landscape, which is painted almost entirely in green, represents the foot-hills of a mountain range, indicated on the horizon. In the near distance the Emperor's elephants and retinue appear in front of a city-crowned hill. The drawing of the *nilgāes*, bullocks, elephants, and other animals is extremely lifelike, and the details of these and the landscape are painted in a highly accomplished manner, the perspective being strongly influenced by European models. The Emperor is depicted as a youngish man (under 40), but the picture can hardly be earlier than the second decade of the eighteenth century. The identification with Awrangzeb is not certain, as many members of the imperial family were very alike.² The Emperor Bahādur Shāh (A.D. 1707-12) may possibly be the subject of this painting.

A somewhat similar picture, of a young prince hunting *nilgāes*, is in an album at the British Museum (Stowe Oriental 16, fol. 29). This album dates from about A.D. 1756, but it contains older paintings.

(Oblong, 23.7 × 34.4 cm.)

XXVIII. Plate 91. The Emperor Awrangzeb (?) hunting lions. The Emperor, seated in a howdah on a tall elephant, is about to fire at a lion, which, accompanied by a lioness, is standing at bay directly in front of him. Two elephants, bearing armed

¹ Vide Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 322. Beveridge's translation, pp. 596-7.

² See note to No. XXVIII.



nobles and followers, are beside the royal elephant. Behind the Emperor is seated a young prince, with four other courtiers and attendants. Immediately in front of the elephants is a line of buffaloes ridden by spearmen; beyond these two other elephants are shown being attacked by lions. The enclosure, in which the hunt takes place, is surrounded by a net guarded by green-clad hunt servants; and inside the enclosure another lion and some buck can be seen. In the far hilly landscape is a large encampment of red and white tents; mountains fill the horizon.

The Emperor is shown as a man of about 50-55, but the painting is probably contemporary with No. XXVII.¹

On the reverse of both the pictures are rather crude formalized groups of coloured flowers.

(Oblong, 29 × 42.3 cm.)

XXIX. Plate 92. An equestrian portrait of Jam'dār Khushāl Singh.² He is shown in profile, facing left. His dress is white, with a yellow cloak and turban; the trousers are green and gold. Gold is also used in the border of the orange saddle-cloth, the harness, certain details of the dress of Khushāl Singh and his attendants, and in the large crimson and green umbrella which a footman holds over the Jam'dār. The four attendants have orange, yellow, green, white, and purple clothing, and the horse is dappled grey. The rider and three of the attendants carry black circular shields with gold bosses. Punjab, early nineteenth century.

(22.7 × 17.6 cm.)

XXX. Plate 79 (b). A small brightly coloured drawing of a young man of high position visiting a dignitary of Islam, on the other side of whom is seated a third person of inferior status. Near the figures, which are seated on a patterned blue carpet, are displayed books, a book-rest, and other objects. Behind is a white arched building, and beyond it a large tree. First half of the seventeenth century.

There is a double border of silver-sprinkled cream and brick-coloured paper.

(7.9 × 6.3 cm.)

XXXI. Plate 93. A female figure, probably a Yoginī, or female ascetic, standing in a flowery meadow against a landscape of rocks and trees, above which is a palace with cupolas. The lady's dress is of scarlet and gold, with gold ornaments, and her trousers are purple; in her hair, which is dressed in a top-knot, is a large gold pin. The flesh is painted in a grey tone modelled with purple. On her right hand is perched a bird which she is feeding from her mouth; there are other birds in the trees and on the ground; to each side of her are tall pink-flowered plants. The meadow is painted dark green, the middle distance is generally pale salmon pink and the sky is gold.

The painting, which presents many unusual features,³ was perhaps executed in the Deccan toward the end of the sixteenth century, or at the beginning of the seventeenth. It is, at any rate, an example of a rare local style, little influenced by Mughal court art. Verses by Kātibī are written round the picture on the two inner borders; the outer border contains floral designs in gold on light blue paper.

On the reverse are verses by Sharif al-Tabrizī, written obliquely in *nasta'liq* and signed by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575).

¹ The identification of the central figure of these two paintings with Awrangzeb is not certain. The resemblance to Shāh Jahān is also fairly close. See, however, Pl. XXX of Brown (*Indian Painting under the Mughals*), and Pl. LIII of Stchoukine (*La Peinture Indienne*).

² The identification of this elderly, grey-bearded, snub-nosed person with Khushāl Singh rests on a pencil note in English at the base of the picture. Khushāl Singh was a Brahman who enlisted in the army of

Ranjit Singh, and, winning the favour of his master, was made Chamberlain about the year A.D. 1811. For nine years he was one of the most conspicuous persons in the Punjab Sikh court, but was then, to some extent, superseded by Jammū Rajputs, Gulāb Singh (ancestor of the present Mahārāja of Kashmir) and his brothers.

³ Cf. the drawing reproduced in Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, no. 104, which contains certain stylistic affinities.

On the coloured margins are other verses, and the outer one has a gold floral design. The paper is worm-eaten.

(19.4 × 11.7 cm; dimensions of page are 39.2 × 26.8 cm.)

XXXII. Two miniatures, one mounted above the other.

In the upper one, which seems to be an illustration to a story, a lady is being entertained by a man in a garden outside a house, and is accepting a bowl of wine which he offers to her; in his left hand he holds the neck of a tall flask. A female attendant fans her mistress with a whisk, and a young man stands in the foreground. Both the female figures wear the tall Chaghatāy head-dresses of the period of Humāyūn. The colouring, in which red and yellow predominate, has the brightness of the early manner of painting. The drawing probably dates from the earlier part of Akbar's reign (A.D. 1556–1605). The Persian inscription above reads: 'They were welcomed. The unfortunate one waited till they were inclined to go to their sleeping place.'

The lower picture illustrates a visit of a personage to a holy man, who is seated under a tree beside some rocks. He leans slightly towards his visitor, whose hands are extended in a reverent attitude. The hermit is dressed in green with a brown cloak and a high cap. The visitor is in scarlet; the two companions of the visitor, also seated, have blue and purple garments. The probable date is about A.D. 1600.

(15.7 × 10.1 cm.)

XXXIII. Sixteen detached leaves from *Farhang-i Jahāngirī*, a Persian lexicon by Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū.¹

There is one illustration, which has apparently been superimposed over the script, traces of which are still visible. On the reverse the text of the lexicon is intact.

The picture illustrates the visit of a Mughal personage to a hermit, with whom he is seated in a cave, in the centre of the picture. Two attendants stand beside him, and a third, in charge of a horse, kneels in front of a stream in the foreground; behind the ascetic stands a disciple. Above the cave two goats stand beside trees in a rocky landscape; in the distance are buildings.

The date of the lexicon is A.H. 1017 = A.D. 1608, and the illustration is probably very little later. On three sides of the picture is a narrow blue and gold border; the outer margins have drawings in gold of jungle people, partially dressed in leaves, engaged in hunting and domestic occupations.

On the reverse the inner border is of red and gold, the outer margins are similar in design to the recto page, but the figures include two ascetics, three figures in Mughal dress, and a running deer.

The other leaves have narrow borders of various colours, with marginal drawings in gold, similar to those described above.

(20.4 × 12.4 cm.; the dimensions of the page are 34.3 × 22 cm. The text is a single column of thirty-five lines.)

XXXIV. Seven detached leaves from a manuscript of the *Shāh-nāmā* of Firdawsī.

The text, which is written in a beautifully clear *nasta'liq*, was perhaps written in Persia in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The margins are, however, apparently Indian work of the seventeenth century, showing strong Persian influence.

The inner borders have varying foliage designs in gold on blue grounds.

The outer margins contain designs of foliage, trees, birds, and animals (mythological and otherwise) in gold on yellow-toned paper.

(Dimensions of page are 34.5 × 23.2 cm.; the text is in four columns of thirty-five lines.)

XXXV. Portrait of a Hindu nobleman. Inscribed above, in calligraphy, 'Portrait of Rām Dās Kachwaha'. He stands, facing right, against a green background, and wears

¹ See Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 496.



a white transparent dress over purple trousers, a gold brocade and white sash, a white turban bound with gold. His left hand rests on a long thin staff, and in his right is a small string of beads, and he carries a dagger. This is doubtless a contemporary portrait of Rām Dās Kachwāha, one of the leading Rajput noblemen in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, both of whom showed him great favours. He died in A.D. 1613. He is several times mentioned by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, on one occasion in connexion with an exciting lion hunt. He was very wealthy and generous.

(13.15 × 7.8 cm.)

XXXVI. A partly coloured drawing illustrating the episode from the romance of Khusraw and Shirin, where Khusraw discovers Shirin bathing. Her horse stands beside a tree on which she has hung her gaily coloured clothes. Khusraw's gesture is the traditional one of expressing astonishment—biting the finger. The miniature probably dates from the reign of Jahāngīr (A.D. 1605–1628).

The margins have a design of flowers and three ornaments in gold.

(16.5 × 9 cm.; dimensions of page, 27 × 17 cm.)

XXXVII. A partly coloured drawing of a young man, in a scarlet and gold Mughal dress, holding a jewelled *ankus*, riding an elephant. An attendant in green, holding a wine flask and cup, sits behind his master. The elephant, which has a blue and gold covering with gold and coloured trappings, is very finely drawn, and is a composite figure made up of numerous human and animal forms. In the sky are gold Chinese cloud forms.

Though actually a Persian painting the drawing of the elephant and the dress of his two riders indicate that it was executed in India. Early seventeenth century.

The margin has a gold floral design.

(22.8 × 18.1 cm.; dimensions of page are 37 × 27.2 cm.)

XXXVIII. Painting of a lady standing, with her left arm extended and her hand grasping a tree, against a green background. She is looking back towards an old woman in white, who stands on the left leaning on a long staff. The lady wears scarlet shoes and rose-coloured *pajāmās* with a front panel of gold brocade, and a bodice, long skirt, and scarf of transparent gold muslin. The black tassel ornaments at the elbows and wrists are characteristic of the early seventeenth-century Mughal style. The attitude is reminiscent of the Woman and Tree motive of early Indian sculpture.

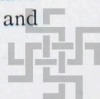
(17.7 × 11.5 cm.)

XXXIX. An inscription in decorative *nasta'liq*, signed by Shafī' Muḥammad al-Rizawī. The letters are composed of a variety of figures, on a stippled ground, drawn in black, and are surrounded by cloud forms, on a pale green background. The decorative motives are very varied, consisting of floral and plant forms, human figures, birds, and animals, including fighting bulls and camels. The representation of the last mentioned is very close to the painting by Bihzād, exhibited at the Persian Exhibition at Burlington House in 1931 (no. 488).

The wording of this inscription is as follows: 'Az mu'ān i dargāh i Ḥazrat Shāh Jahān allāhi (*sic*) [signed] Shafī' Muḥammad al-Rizawī bandah i Dargāh.' Period of Shāh Jahān (1628–58).

(Oblong, 20 × 33.7 cm.)

XL. A fight between two elephants, ridden by demons armed with serpents. An elaborate example of a type of fanciful drawing common both in Persia and India, the figures of the elephant being composed of numerous other human and animal figures. The present drawing is mostly in grisaille, on a gold ground. The artist appears to have found his paper too small, for he has added strips of paper, an inch to an inch and



a half in breadth, all round the outer edges. It is possible, however, that this outer portion was added at a later period. Mid-seventeenth century.

(Oblong, 16 × 23.3 cm.)

XL I. A portrait of Jahāngīr, seated on a patterned blue carpet on a pillared dais, with an attendant standing on the right. The Emperor reclines against a crimson cushion on a dark background, and faces to the left. He wears green trousers, a gold brocaded coat with fur edging, and a full plumed turban of pink and gold; the halo is green, purple, and gold. The attendant is in green, orange, and white, with gold brocaded sash and turban, and he holds a fly whisk. On the topmost of the two steps in the foreground is written, 'The picture of Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr Badshāh Ghāzi'. The outer margin is decorated with well-drawn coloured flowers. Mid-seventeenth century.

(13.8 × 7.8 cm.; dimensions of page, 22.1 × 13.7 cm.)

XL II. Three detached leaves from the Gulistān of Sa'dī. The passages are from Chapters II and IV, which treat respectively of the Morals of Dervishes and the Virtues of Silence.

The text is written in a clear *nasta'liq* on gold-sprinkled paper, within gold and coloured borders with coloured floral patterns.

In the margins are gold flower designs, and in each outer margin are painted two seated figures in Mughal dress, conversing (with the exception of folios 1 b and 3). Late seventeenth century.

(Dimensions of page are 21 × 17 cm.)

XL III. A page of calligraphy, written in an elegant *nasta'liq*, on dark salmon-coloured paper. There is a broad margin with a gold floral decoration. In the upper and lower corners on the left are two medallions set sideways, containing small grisaille drawings, slightly coloured, of Mughal personages, in profile against rocky backgrounds. The figure in the upper medallion is standing, that in the lower is kneeling. Seventeenth century.

On the reverse is a fragment in *naskhī*.

(Dimensions of page, 23.8 × 16.1 cm.; medallions measure 6 × 5 cm.)

XL IV. An oval-shaped portrait of a lady, three-quarter length, standing, facing right, against a pale green background. The miniature is delicately drawn, the rich brocade, silk, and muslin of the *dupattā* and *shalwār* are very finely rendered, and the note of richness is carried out in the beautiful decorated border, which is contemporary. This latter has a flowing gold flower design, with, at intervals, round the edges and in the corners, dark blue ornaments containing coloured flowers. Latter part of the seventeenth century.

On the reverse is a fragment of verse in cloud forms on a coloured flower design on a gold ground, within a gold and black border.

(Oval measures 10.5 × 7.5 cm.; dimensions of page, 18.5 × 11.3 cm.)

XL V. An unfinished line-drawing of a bearded man in Mughal costume, kneeling facing right, smoking a *huggah*, and holding a cushion. Seventeenth century.

Above is an unfinished tracing of a man, a woman, and a child.

On the reverse is a later painting of a woman standing, holding a lotus.

(17 × 11 cm.)

XL VI. A black and white drawing, apparently an adaptation of a sixteenth-century European engraving. The only colouring is in the faces, some of the belts and head-dresses, in the gilding of the halo of the central figure, and in a few other places. The subject of the drawing appears to be Christ preaching in a house, among disciples and others. The picture has been coarsely mounted over another, which it completely

hides, apparently for the sake of the margin, on which are foliage, birds, and human figures outlined in gold on a biscuit-coloured ground. Probably early seventeenth century.

(14.4 × 9.1 cm.; dimensions of page, 23 × 14.5 cm.)

- XLVII. A painting, partly coloured, of a young Mughal nobleman seated with a lady on a palace verandah overlooking a landscape with water. She is entertaining him with fruit and wine, and a female attendant in the foreground is coaxing a fire into flame with a fan, in preparation for a meal. Two other women stand behind their mistress. Late seventeenth century, some of the details are probably of later date. In the margin is a symmetrical coloured flower pattern.

(20.2 × 11.9 cm.)

- XLVIII. A partly coloured drawing of an elderly man, dressed in a blue cloak and a white turban, seated, facing right, on a railed platform, with a rosary beside him; in the background is a flowering shrub. The face is very sensitively drawn, but the rest of the drawing is mediocre. Perhaps late seventeenth century.

(11.5 × 10.4 cm.)

- XLIX. A portrait of a young prince (unidentified) standing against an emerald and lavender sky, facing left. He holds a sword and a flower, and wears a white flowered dress, a plumed Mughal crimson and gold turban, and a gold brocaded sash. Among the flowers in the foreground are an iris, clover, poppies, and columbine, skillfully rendered. The portrait dates from the latter period of the seventeenth century.

(14.3 × 8.6 cm.)

- L. A half-length painting of Christ after a European original, three-quarter profile to the right. The right hand is lifted in benediction and the left holds a golden orb. The cloak, fastened with a large trefoiled gold ornament, is green with a purple lining; the robe is light purple, showing a white under-sleeve. The hair is auburn, long, and slightly curling; the beard and eyes are light brown; the drawing of the face is of very high quality, but it is much damaged. The halo is gold and the background black. Late seventeenth century.

(8 × 6.6 cm.)

- LI. A portrait of a Mughal nobleman standing, facing left, on a flowered ground against a pale emerald sky. His left hand rests on a long sword, and in his right he holds an ornament. He wears a purple shawl over a short green coat, under that a long cream dress with brocaded sash; his turban is spotted white, bound with brown and gold; he has a dark skin and a black beard. Late seventeenth century.

On the reverse is a calligraphic fragment.

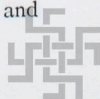
(18.2 × 12.2 cm.)

- LII. A portrait of a Mughal nobleman, standing against a blue and pale emerald sky, facing left; in his right hand he holds a paper, and he carries a large black shield and a sword. His dress is a light yellow-green with a flowered pattern, the sash is of gold brocade; the sword belt and shield strap are crimson, the turban also is crimson, bound with gold. A red and green handkerchief is fastened to the left of the breast, and the boots are yellow, embroidered with green and white. The foreground has been unskillfully retouched.

The portrait, according to the inscription at the base, is of Rājā Mān Singh, but this inscription is probably spurious. (Compare no. I above.) Latter part of seventeenth century.

(23.8 × 13.6 cm.)

- LIII. A portrait of the Emperor Akbar, late in life, seated on a carpet against a gold background. The Emperor wears a brown dress with a green embroidered sash, and



a white turban bound with orange. He is holding a jewel in his right hand. Late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

On the reverse is calligraphy by Mir 'Alī al-Tabrīzī.

(10.3 × 7.5 cm.)

- LIV. A portrait of a young man (unidentified), of dark complexion, seated among cushions on a carpet, facing right. He holds a flower in his right hand; before him lie a sword and other objects. The colouring is simple, consisting of crimson, yellow, and white, with a little gold and green.

The drawing appears to date from the early eighteenth century. It is a very favourable example of the portraiture of the period, the drawing of the face and right hand being noticeably good.

The picture bears the seal of Muḥammad 'Alī Shah, Nawāb of Awadh from 1837 to 1842, and the date A.H. 1260 (= A.D. 1844-5).

(19.7 × 14.8 cm.)

- LV. A circular profile bust portrait of a lady in European dress, slightly coloured but strongly modelled, with pearl ornaments and a gold veil fastened in her hair, and holding a flower in her left hand. Apparently after a European miniature. Early eighteenth century.

(Diameter, 9.5 cm.)

- LVI. A bunch of gaily coloured flowers in a gilt vase.¹ Early eighteenth century.

(18 × 10.6 cm.)

- LVII. A painting of two ladies of the Mughal court, standing, against a green sky, one holding a flask and handing a cup to the other, who embraces her with her left arm. Eighteenth century.

(18.1 × 10.7 cm.)

- LVIII. A painting of four ladies with attendants conversing beside a pool among some rocks. Two of them, one of whom smokes a *huggah*, are conversing, a third has one foot in the water. Behind them, among trees, are two bullock carriages, and in the middle distance is a lake with boats and water-birds. Eighteenth century.

(Oblong, 20.8 × 29.9 cm.)

- LIX. A painting of two rams fighting. The composite figures of the rams are made up of separate animals, dogs, a bear, a cat, a hare, and a rat. This type of composite figure (compare nos. XXXVII, XL, LXIII, and LXXI) probably has not, as is sometimes asserted, any special symbolical meaning. The tone of the colouring is subdued, and the manner is strongly suggestive of European work. Eighteenth century.

(20.5 × 15.7 cm.)

- LX. A painting of a Persian prince on horseback, returning from shooting, accompanied by an attendant. A dog runs beside him, and the ducks which he has shot hang from his saddle; he carries a pomegranate and a long staff.

This curious painting has many Persian elements, such as the dress of the prince, the three-quarter profile of the two figures, and the method of drawing the faces; but the treatment of the landscape and the drawing of the minaret and the domes in the background, the sky, and the use of white in the horse, with the clothing and beard of the attendant, are no less obviously Indian.

The portrait of Shāh 'Abbās II in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, should be compared. (See Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections, Part VI, Mughal Painting*, p. 62, and plate LIX.)

The prince is dressed in a plum-coloured coat, with scarlet boots, and a blue, red, and

¹ Cf. Fig. 228 of Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (first edition), a more formalized composition.

gold plumed head-dress; the background is almost entirely filled with a green hill landscape. Probably eighteenth century.

(28.9 × 19.5 cm.)

- LXI. A drawing of a woman, slightly coloured, standing, facing right, holding a wine flask and cup. Her red and yellow shoes with turned-up toes are noticeable. The margins are marbled in brown, green, and red. Eighteenth century.

(10.6 × 6.3 cm.)

- LXII. A painting of a woman standing on a crimson and gilt footstool, against a green background, facing right, in a yellow skirt with a gold pattern. She is twisting her long black hair and is nude from the waist upwards. She wears a double rope of pearls, bracelets, and armlets, and her feet and fingers are coloured with henna.¹ Eighteenth century.

(15.7 × 8.8 cm.)

- LXIII. A winged female figure riding a horse. The figure carries a wand round which a serpent is entwined, has green wings, and wears a green dress over a purple undergarment, also a gold conical hat and a scarlet sash, the ends of which are formed of dragons' heads. The horse is composed of various animals and a nude female figure, whose hair forms the horse's tail; there is a gold background and green foreground. Eighteenth century.

(11.3 × 8.8 cm.)

- LXIV. A seated Hindu. The portrait is perhaps of a *baniyā*. He wears a white *dhoti* and a crimson striped shawl, a high maroon-coloured *pagrī* of western Indian style, and a pearl ear-ring. His head is bent forward, his eyes are half closed, and his hand is resting on the ground.

The outline of the left arm and hand under the shawl is depicted in an unusual manner. The portrait shows signs of late European influence, and probably dates from the early nineteenth century.

An inscription, in a kind of Gurumukhī writing, gives the name as '— (illegible) Gorakhdās-jī'.

(23.5 × 15.5 cm.)

- LXV. An oval painting of two gaily dressed dancing women, against a black background. They lean together clasping each other's hands, with foreheads almost touching, while each raises the outer foot. Eighteenth century.

Compare Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, fig. LVII, for a similar painting in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(14.3 × 11.2 cm.)

- LXVI. A painting of a female figure, standing, facing left, in a transparent mauve garment with pearl necklace and other ornaments, carrying a rope of pearls in her right hand, no head-dress. Behind her is a high dull grey and green background, with distant trees. Mid-eighteenth century.

(16 × 10.2 cm.)

- LXVII. A painting of a young woman, seated, facing right, on a palace balcony, reading from a piece of writing in her left hand; in her right she holds a nosegay. Her *pājāmas* and skirt are of gold-flowered muslin and scarlet brocade, and her bodice is white with gold edging; the ringleted hair is almost covered with a gold and red plumed turban. There is a line of small trees against a dull green and gold sky. Late eighteenth century.

(15.4 × 11.5 cm.)

- LXVIII. The Emperor Shāh Jahan hunting a tiger. The tiger has seized one of the attendants who is thrusting a dagger into its side. The Emperor is lifting his sword

¹ Cf. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, fig. 132 (Sarre Collection), where the figure is facing left.

to strike the tiger on the head. Behind him and below are five attendants, and in the upper part of the picture are the Emperor's elephants and his escort. The scene is set by the side of a lake, on the shore of which is a mango tree; among the reeds is another tiger.

The drawing, which is slightly coloured, appears to be late eighteenth-century work.
(27·8 × 18·7 cm.)

LXIX. A painting of Mughal ladies amusing themselves at a slide, apparently made of black rock, in a leafy glade. In the middle distance on the left a lady is seated, looking on and smoking a *huggah*; in the foreground musicians and attendants are seated on the edge of a small tank. The jewellery is made up of seed pearls affixed to the surface of the painting. Late eighteenth century.

The painting is enclosed in a coloured floral margin.

On the reverse is a specimen of calligraphy by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī.

(29·8 × 20·7 cm.; dimensions of page are 49·7 × 34·5 cm.)

LXX-LXXIII. The four following folios originally came from an album, of which LXXIII was the last folio, formed in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

(Dimensions of page are 41·7 × 29 cm.)

LXX. A portrait of one of the Mughal Emperors, perhaps Jahāndār Shāh, or Shāh 'Ālam, kneeling, facing left. Behind him stands an attendant with a peacock fan, and at his feet a small child is playing, probably one of the Royal family. In the background is water with green hills behind it. The Emperor's dress is of white and gold, that of the attendant is pink; the cushion is gold with purple flowers and orange ends, and the child's dress is of flowered gold brocade; the cream-coloured carpet has a spiral design of orange-coloured flowers.

On the reverse is a fragment of Persian poetry.

The margins on both sides are profusely decorated with scenes of hunting and country life, in black outline heightened with gold.

(19 × 10·3 cm.)

LXXI. A representation, full-faced, of Śiva-Pārvatī riding on a bull, facing left, the latter being a composite figure made up of various animal and human forms. The right side of the deity represents Śiva, and the left, Pārvatī. From the top of the head the Ganges stream is flowing down into the foreground, and the right hand grasps a trident. Six small, crowned male figures, emerging from lotuses, scatter white flowers from above. The main figures, which are painted in a variety of colours, stand against an emerald sky in an oval, and white bird and cloud forms appear in the spandrels.

The outer margins contain various scenes, drawn in black and lightly coloured, of women giving water to a prince at a well, hunting and hawking scenes, and other incidents.

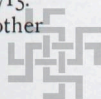
On the reverse is a specimen of calligraphy signed by Muḥammad Murād, with drawings, partly coloured, on the margins, of hills, with trees and flowers, animals and birds.

(19·3 × 14·2 cm)

LXXII. A painting of a man seated, facing left, dressed in white and green, under a white arch; beside him is a *huggah*, the stem of which he grasps in his left hand, and a cushion. He wears a large ear-ring and gold bracelets, and in his right hand he holds, against his upraised right knee, a minute female figure dressed in orange.

The painting is inscribed 'Bandah Singh', which is perhaps intended to indicate Bandah Bairāgī, leader of the Sikhs, who was executed by the Mughals in A.D. 1715.

In the outer margins, against a purple background and green trees, hunting and other incidents are drawn in black with a heightening of gold.



On the reverse is a calligraphic fragment signed by Muḥammad Zahid, and in the margins angels and *jinn* are drawn, in black with slight colouring, against hills and trees.

(20.3 × 14 cm.)

LXXIII. The last page of an album. The elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa, painted entirely in orange, wearing a yellow speckled *dhoti*, sitting on a lotus against a green background, with the rat (his customary 'vehicle') in the foreground.

The margins have a flowing spiral flower design, slightly coloured.

On the reverse is an ornamental end page, with a large decorative star having in the centre a *devī* seated on a lotus, and decorated spandrels in the four corners.

(14.7 × 9.4 cm.; diameter of star, 5.6 cm.)

LXXIV. A portrait of the Emperor Awrangzeb seated on a golden throne, facing left, with a standing attendant; he is holding a book in his left hand. The colouring, apart from the Emperor's dress and throne, is sombre. The painting is enclosed in an unusual wavy border containing gold tendrils, on a dark blue ground.

The margin has a flowing gold flower design with black ornaments. Nineteenth century.

(14.9 × 9 cm.; dimensions of page are 43.5 × 28 cm.)

II B.

SEPARATE PICTURES OF HINDU AND PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS (I–LV)

Acquired privately and by purchase.

I. An unfinished painting of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā seated, facing left, on a platform under a tree, with four maidens standing on the left. Kṛishṇa wears the *morā mukuṭa*, i.e. a crown surmounted with peacock feathers. A peacock above the god looks down towards another peacock in a smaller tree. The colouring is chiefly made up of sombre greens, greys, light brown, yellow, and crimson. Very little of the detail has been completed, which, however, does not detract from the happiness of the colour scheme.

The painting shows some Mughal influence. Late seventeenth century.

(24.2 × 15.7 cm.)

II. A partly coloured painting of Śiva leaving home with the monkey-god Hanumān, who carries a bundle and a large drum. Śiva, bearing a tiger skin, is touching the hand of Pārvatī, who carries her five-headed child Skanda. Behind the rocks among which they are standing, another son, Gaṇeśa, the elephant-god, is arriving, riding a bull with a peacock perched behind him, a rat preceding and a tiger following them; the background is of rocks. Kangra, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

(24 × 16.3 cm.)

III–XI. A Hero and Heroine¹ series of nine paintings on *Śringāra*, or Love. These paintings, all of which illustrate different themes of Love and Rhetoric, are in the traditional Hindu or Rajput style, which is fully described in Dr. Coomaraswamy's book on Rajput Painting, and are accompanied, as usual, with quotations from

¹ See Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*. Part II, Chap. 2.



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Keśavadāsa. They are closely connected with the Rāga and Rāginī paintings, and deal with the analysis of the emotional states.

Both the Hero and the Heroine are always represented in this particular series. The latter is sometimes accompanied by one or more attendants, and other persons are occasionally present in addition.

The paintings are felicitously coloured, yellow, red, and green predominating, with a dark powder blue. There is a wealth of animal life, parrots, peacocks, water-birds, elephants, and tigers, appearing in most of the pictures. The architecture is partly Mughal. The borders have a conventional blue, white, and yellow flower design on orange ground.

(18.8 × 13.5 cm. slightly variable; dimensions of page 26.8 × 16.5 cm.)

- III. The Hero and Heroine are standing on a carpet behind water with lotuses and cranes; in the background are trees and a building.
- IV. The Hero is shown taking leave of the Heroine, who appears in the doorway of a building, to the side of which are hills and trees, showing a tiger and an elephant.
- V. The Hero and Heroine are seated in an alcove; in front are an elephant and a tiger, and a small male figure reclining under a tree; on a tree to the right are two snakes.
- VI. The Hero and Heroine, the latter attended by a maidservant, are seated on a carpeted terrace in front of a red-screened building.
- VII. The Hero and Heroine are seated before an alcove, behind which is a shrine of Śiva and trees.
- VIII. The Hero and Heroine are seated on a palace terrace overlooking a river, diversified with wooded islands. Above them is shown a stormy sky, denoted by serpent forms.
- IX. In the upper part of this picture the Hero and Heroine are seated under an alcove, playing chess on a cruciform board, by night. A lamp burns in the centre niche, and there are many other lamps along the roof of the building.
In the lower part of the picture five male figures are seated; the centre figure is holding a paper with writing; a stand in front of him holds another paper.
- X. The Hero and Heroine are seated in an alcove; below on the right is a white Hindu shrine before which a female worshipper is standing holding a lotus, two other female lotus-bearing worshippers are approaching. Behind these again are three water-birds, four more birds are on the roof, and in the foreground is a pool with lotuses and more water-birds.
- XI. The Hero and Heroine at the celebration of the *Holi*, with five female attendants. These drawings are the product of a provincial school of the early eighteenth century.
- XII. A portrait of a Rājā, seated under a canopy, smoking a *huggah*, on a palace balcony. The cushions, one of which rests against two gold elephants' heads, and the border of the carpet have a curious design in which heads of women and deer are introduced, in a style occasionally found in Persian art. This richly coloured drawing, in which green, gold, and white predominate, though it cannot be earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, is of high quality, the details being very finely drawn.
(32.4 × 22.4 cm.)
- XIII. A painting of a woman seated on a tree, one of the branches of which she holds with her raised left hand. At her knee are two maidens, one holding a *tambūra*, the other offering wine to her mistress. Beneath are two geese and a gazelle (*chhiṅkārā*) very well drawn. A dove with a golden halo descends from a stormy sky, and behind

a line of rocks is a small turreted building. The dresses of the ladies are chiefly gold and orange, the ground is emerald green.

The margin of leaves and large flowers, interspersed with gold Chinese cloud forms, is elaborately drawn and coloured, on a dark ground.

Probably Bihar school. Eighteenth century.

(18.9 × 11 cm.; dimensions of page are 35.7 × 23.2 cm.)

- XIV. A partly coloured drawing depicting the capture of wild elephants. In the foreground two tame elephants are leading a wild one, who is tied between them by a fastening which runs completely round all three elephants. In front of these are two men offering sugar-canes to the captured beast. Behind this group is another group of four elephants, one of which appears to be tame, and one, a large tusker on the right, is being secured with ropes. In the background are two more tame elephants. The ground is hilly, with shrubby growth. The painting has several unusual features, and the red head-dresses of the twelve almost naked mahouts and workers are of an uncommon type. Eighteenth century.

(25.3 × 14.5 cm.)

- XV. A painting of Vishṇu, seated with his consort Lakshmi in a lotus. His four arms hold the emblems, and before him is the Garuḍa, the 'vehicle' of Vishṇu, depicted as half man and half parrot. Eighteenth century.

(17.1 × 11.5 cm.)

- XVI. A painting of a group of maidens merrymaking in a forest. Of the fourteen figures, all but one are seated on the ground or on piled cushions, some are playing on musical instruments, one is smoking a *huggah*, and others are taking wine flasks from an attendant. Before them are set fruit and wine. In the trees behind them, against an orange and gold sky, monkeys and peacocks are seen, other peacocks and deer are under the trees and beside the rocky stream in the foreground in which ducks are swimming. The colouring of the women's dresses is gold, yellow, and pale majenta, and the artist has tried to give the effect of night by painting the faces in the same tone of majenta. Probably a late eighteenth-century Hill painting.

(19.9 × 12 cm.)

- XVII. A painting of a man and a woman standing, facing left and sheltering under a red cloak in a storm, against a hilly background. Mixed style, late eighteenth century.

Gold decorated borders and margin.

(15.8 × 10.6 cm.)

- XVIII. Bāz Bahādur, King of Mālwa, and his lady-love, the Princess Rūpmati, riding together, by torchlight, through a rocky pass. A semi-twilight effect has been attempted. Eighteenth century.

(25.7 × 18.4 cm.)

- XIX to XXII. Four illustrations from a romance.

- XIX. A prince falls in love with the queen of the fairies, who is giving him wine, while they are sitting together on a marble platform in a garden.

(22.7 × 12.9 cm.)

- XX. Two maidens endeavour to console the queen. The three figures are seated under a canopy in a garden.

(24.3 × 13.2 cm.)

- XXI. The queen of the fairies becomes distraught with love, and is imprisoned, her foot being fettered with an iron chain. There is a white architectural background.

(23.4 × 13.4 cm.)



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XXII. The queen receiving a letter from the prince. She is seated in an alcove in a garden facing the messenger, while on the outside stands one of her maidens. The faces of the four other maidens appear among the foliage of the trees in the background.

(24 × 12.9 cm.)

All the above four paintings are in a mixed style, probably of the late eighteenth or nineteenth century, though the Mughal element is mainly apparent in certain details of the architecture and costume. The formalized trees, with peacocks perched on their summits, the varied sky effects, and the artist's manner of introducing birds, frogs, fishes, and fire-flies into his composition, are features of this attractive series.

XXIII. Kṛishṇa and his brother Balarāma playing with the milkmaids, beside a large leafless tree, before a white building in a hilly landscape. Nineteenth century.

(22.4 × 17 cm.)

XXIV. Five Vaiṣṇavite pictures (in one). The centre picture, which is disposed diagonally, represents Viṣṇu reclining on the many-headed serpent Śeṣha, and conversing with his consort Lakṣmī, who is massaging his feet. Brahma, the Creator, issues from a lotus which grows from Viṣṇu's navel.

The subjects of the four other pictures are as follows:

Top left. Draupadī, wife of the Pāṇḍavas, being unveiled by Duḥśāsana before the chieftains.

Lower left. The king of the elephants, caught by an octopus, is saved by Hari, who is shown descending from Garuḍa.

Top right. Viṣṇu, as Nara-Siṃha, the Man-Lion, tears the impious Daitya king Hirāṇya-Kasipu to pieces.

Lower right. Rukmiṇī, wife of Kṛishṇa, seizes Kṛishṇa's hand as he is eating the rice. An incident in the story of Sudāmā, a poor Brahman who was rewarded by Kṛishṇa for his virtue.

The colouring is rather bright. Kangra school. Nineteenth century.

(24.8 × 21.7 cm.)

XXV. Kṛishṇa and Rādhā seated under a tree by the side of the river Jamna, on which float pink lotus flowers. Painted in light tones of green, grey, white, and yellow. Nineteenth century.

(21.4 × 13.7 cm.)

XXVI. A Hindu lady walking in a forest. Her dress is yellow, and there are various birds among the foliage. Kangra school. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

(Oval, 18.9 × 13.6 cm.)

XXVII. A lady going to meet her lover (who can be seen waiting for her, in the window of a building, to the left) on a dark, stormy night, lit up by a vivid flash of lightning; she has just stepped over one cobra, and another rears itself up before her in a threatening attitude; a swollen river rushes furiously along by her side. The blue bodice and dark blue skirt of the lady, and her gold-coloured veil stand out vividly against the background of the dark green landscape and the black sky. Kangra school. Late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

(Oval, 19.8 × 12.8 cm.)

XXVIII. Kṛishṇa, in the rainy season, while lightning-flashes dart across the black sky, brings Rādhā to his palace, in which an old nurse is seen spreading the bridal couch. Kangra school. Nineteenth century.

(20.7 × 13.5 cm.)



- XXIX. A lady, seated in front of a group of trees, in a red dress and a turban, holding a *tambūra*; a buck and a doe are beside her, and in front is a pool with lotuses. Mixed style, late eighteenth century.
(22.6 × 13.3 cm.)
- XXX. A painting of a woman cooking. She is seated, facing left, on a red and blue patterned mat, surrounded by cooking utensils and ingredients for a meal, among which two small fish are noticeable. In front of her a fire is burning, and with her right hand she is stirring in a brass vessel. Her dress is orange with a blue and gold muslin *sārī*; the background is yellow. Kangra school, nineteenth century.
(17 × 10.9 cm.)
- XXXI. A lady reclining on a couch on a palace roof, attended by four maidens, watching a storm. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(22.6 × 16.7 cm.)
- XXXII. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa seated on the upper story of a palace, with maidens below, watching a storm. Cranes and peacocks appear in the sky and on the hilly landscape. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(24 × 17.2 cm.)
- XXXIII. Kṛishṇa, with cattle, leaving Rādhā at the door of her house. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(23.2 × 16 cm.)
- XXXIV. A lady seated on a platform outside a palace, conversing with a woman of lower rank. On the right a young prince is shown at a window. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(22.1 × 16.2 cm.)
- XXXV. Kṛishṇa washing the feet of Rādhā on terrace overlooking a hilly landscape; an attendant is fanning her mistress. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(Oval, 20.3 × 13.4 cm.)
- XXXVI. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa seated in a palace courtyard, with a female attendant. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(Oval, 22.4 × 15.9 cm.)
- XXXVII. A lady seated on a palace terrace with two female attendants. There is a rainbow effect in the sky. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(21.4 × 13.6 cm.)
- XXXVIII. A lady seated under a canopy on a terrace, reading a letter; a female attendant stands behind her. In the foreground is a decorative row of young budding trees; the sky shows a rainbow effect. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(20 × 13.8 cm.)
- XXXIX. A lady standing and clasping a tree in a palace garden. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(18.6 × 13.8 cm.)
- XL. A lady and a demon with three serpents in a grove at night, under a stormy sky. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(20.4 × 13 cm.)
- XLI. A lady standing among flowering trees and shrubs, having thrown her chaplets on the ground; a pool in the foreground. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(Oval, 20 × 13.1 cm.)
- XLII. A lady seated on a terrace with two attendants. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.
(22.9 × 13.8 cm.)



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XLIII. A lady standing on a terrace with a female attendant; the sun is shining above. Painted chiefly in white and pale colours. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(Oval, 21.5 × 15 cm.)

XLIV. A lady reclining on a couch under a blazing sun, smoking a *huqqah* and attended by seven female attendants, two of whom are playing instruments. Painted chiefly in white, with a little colour. A Rāgini subject. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(24 × 17 cm.)

XLV. A lady seated on a chair before a fountain in a palace garden, smoking a *huqqah*, with two female musicians and an attendant; in the foreground two does. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(23.9 × 16.5 cm.)

XLVI. Kṛishṇa departing from Rādhā, who stands at the door of her chamber on the left of a courtyard, in which are attendants and others, including another representation of Kṛishṇa at a window. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(21.4 × 15.5 cm.)

XLVII. A lady with three attendants, standing on a terrace; she holds the stem of a *huqqah*. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(20.7 × 16 cm.)

XLVIII. Two lovers seated in front of a window. Painted mostly in white, grey, and silver. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(21.3 × 14.7 cm.)

XLIX. Rādhā, seated disconsolately before a palace, holding a lotus, while Kṛishṇa departs. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(20.3 × 14.5 cm.)

L. A lady seated with an old woman on a roof in front of an alcove. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(19.7 × 14.6 cm.)

LI. Kṛishṇa and Rādhā seated, holding a mirror, on a terrace overlooking a lotus-covered lake and hills, with two seated attendants in the foreground. Gold and black decorated margins. Kangra, nineteenth century.

(23.2 × 16.1 cm.)

LII. A painting of a Hindu marriage. On the left, the bride and bridegroom are kneeling; the bride, holding a cloth which passes over the left shoulder of the bridegroom, stoops forward, covering her face with her *sārī*. Facing them are the two officiating priests, seated on carpets, and holding scrolls on which are Vedic *Mantras*, containing the names of Rāma and Hari. Behind the priests, half hidden, stands a bearded man, and eight female musicians and attendants and a small child stand round the central group. A lamp, rice, and various utensils are shown on the floor.

There is a grey architectural background with a night sky; the costumes are in bright colours.

Hindu marriage ceremonies differ considerably in various parts of India, but the ritual fire, round which the pair are obliged to walk, the rice or other grain, which is scattered over their heads to protect them from evil and secure fertility, and the recital of texts are common to all marriages, being of great antiquity. Garhwāl school, nineteenth century.

(Oblong, 17.3 × 22.4 cm.)

LIII. A portrait of a Punjabi notable conversing with a younger man, seated on a blue and white striped carpet. Punjab, nineteenth century.

(21.2 × 14.4 cm.)



LIV. A painting of a prince on horseback, facing a lady who leans against a tree on the right, smoking a *huggah* held by a female attendant. The prince is accompanied by four armed footmen and a groom. In the background on the right is a representation of a fortress which is being besieged by artillery, infantry, and cavalry. Three women are looking out from a building on the left. Nineteenth century.

(Oblong, 23.6 × 27.5 cm.)

LV. A painting of a Hindu woman and child, possibly influenced by a European Madonna. She leans against a cushion, facing left, at a window. The colouring is crude, orange, yellow, gold, and green predominating. The almost dead white of the flesh and of the raised pearl ornaments is noticeable. Nineteenth century.

(17.4 × 11.5 cm.)

12

DASTŪR-I-HIMMAT

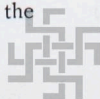
PLATES 94, 95

Purchased at Sotheby's in 1926.

An eighteenth-century manuscript of the *Dastūr-i-Himmat*.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The *Dastūr-i-Himmat*, *The Model of Resolution*, is the poetical version of the story of *Kāmṛup*, and was written in A.D. 1685, by Muḥammad Murād, who called it after the name of his patron *Himmat Khān*, one of *Awrangzeb*'s officials, at whose request he had composed this poem; the original prose version of the story had been written some years previously by *Mir Muḥammad Kāzīm*, of whom hardly anything is known except that he was the author of this romance and some poems. Muḥammad Murād changed the original name of the heroine of the story, *Kāmlatā*, into *Latakām* as being more convenient for metrical purposes. In this manuscript the original name frequently occurs in the titles of the pictures.

The poem recounts the adventures of a young prince, named *Kāmṛup*, son of the king of *Awadh*. In a dream he sees a beautiful princess, the daughter of the king of *Sarāndīp*, in the island of *Ceylon*, and his grief is inconsolable when he wakes up and does not know how to reach the country of the princess. The princess has a similar dream and pines away, until a Brahman named *Samīpī* wins her confidence and, at her request, starts off to find the prince of her dream. After wandering for a year he finds *Kāmṛup* and informs him that the princess has likewise fallen in love with him and is pining to see him. *Kāmṛup* determines to undertake the long journey to *Sarāndīp*, and having received his father's permission starts out under the guidance of *Samīpī*, accompanied by six companions, the sons of his father's minister, physician, pandit, jeweller, painter, and musician respectively. They make their way by land to *Bengal* and there take ship for *Ceylon*; in the Bay of *Bengal* the ship founders, but the prince and his companions manage to cling to the broken planks, and, though separated from one another, all safely reach the shores of the island of *Ceylon*. Here after a series of fantastic adventures, they are reunited, and in the guise of religious mendicants make their way to the city of *Sarāndīp*, where the princess dwells. Her father has resolved to marry her to one of the neighbouring princes, according to the *Svayamvara* rite, in which a princess selects her husband out of the assembled lovers. *Kāmṛup* manages to communicate with the princess through one of his companions, who can assume the form of a parrot and thus enter the princess's palace unobserved; and she sends to *Kāmṛup* a turban cloth, whereby she will be able to pick him out from among the



crowd of suitors. On the Svayamvara day she throws her necklace round the neck of Kāmṛup, much to the disgust of the assembled princes; they complain to her father, who has Kāmṛup and his companions imprisoned. But they manage to escape and, collecting an army, they defeat the Rājā's forces; whereupon he gives way and allows Kāmṛup to marry his daughter, and they return to Awadh, where Kāmṛup soon afterwards succeeds to his father's throne.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 33 × 20.3 cm.; the written surface measures 25.5 × 12 cm.; double columns of 17 lines; 117 folios. Of the 209 miniatures, 23 are full page, the remainder are of various heights, but always the width of the text.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a bold, legible *nasta'liq*; the text of the poems is arranged in two columns on a page, separated by a blank space of one centimetre. There is a lavish use of gold, bands of which are used to enclose the text, and the spaces between the separate verses are also filled up with gold. Red ink is used for the headings of the various sections of the poem.

The paper is of good quality, and of a vellum-like texture and a pale cream colour.

BINDING. The binding (which is probably of the same period as the manuscript) is of papier-mâché, with a layer of gesso as a basis for the colour decoration, which is mainly of red and black on a gold background. The design is of a lattice type, with four-petalled flowers in the interstices; the centre and corner ornaments are filled in with conventionalized flowers and leaves. The whole is enclosed in a border of red flowers and leaves, arranged alternately. The inner covers have a decoration of a different pattern, but of a similar type; the flowers and leaves in the panels are represented in a rather more naturalistic manner.

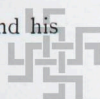
DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript bears no date or indication of ownership, but the pictures seem to belong to that brief period of the revival of the art of painting in India, during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719-48), for they exhibit the same characteristics as are found in other paintings of this reign, e.g. a lavish use of gold in the decoration of costumes and as a background for landscapes, a preference for colours of a light tone, and a skilful use of broad white spaces in architectural scenes.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There is one *'unwān*, at the beginning of the text (fol. 1 b); the predominant colours employed are blue, red, pale green, and gold.

There are altogether 209 pictures, including a number of small tail-pieces (Plate 95, (fols. 117, 124 b, 126 b, 148 b, 169 b, 172 b)) with attractive representations of animals, birds, and flowers. From their great variety, from their charm of colour and inventiveness, and from the fullness of their details, these illustrations must take a high place among contemporary work: and their merits are, if anything, enhanced by a certain *naïveté*.

Pictures of ships rarely occur in Indian painting, and those on fols. 43 b-45 b and 88-90 b and 132 a and b, suggest that the painter had never seen a real ship; he does not understand the relative positions of the masts and he makes the sails hang like sheets hung out to dry. There are several indications that the painter was a Hindu, and though he had been influenced by the traditions of the Mughal school, his faces lack the individualization of Mughal portraiture and conform rather to the types found in the so-called Rajput paintings. An unusual feature of these illustrations is that each incident connected with the story of the poem has a brief description written in gold letters at the top of the page, but the descriptions do not always agree with the text. The subjects of the separate pictures are as follows:

- (1) fol. 17. Rājā Rājpatī, king of Awadh, with his chief minister, Karamchand, and his court.



- (2) fol. 18. The Rājā visits an ascetic and tells him of his desire to have a son. The royal retinue is shown in the background.
- (3) fol. 18 b. A leopard catches a hare, while two monkeys take refuge in a tree.
- (4) fol. 19. The birth of a prince, who is named Kāmṛup; in the outer portion of the palace the Rājā receives congratulations and distributes presents.
- (5) fol. 19 b. A bear fighting with a serpent; and a hawk killing a heron.
- (6) fol. 20. The education of the young prince, with his six companions, the sons of his father's minister, physician, pandit, jeweller, painter, and musician.
- (7) fol. 21 b. An elephant caught by the trunk and the right forefoot by two crocodiles.
- (8) fol. 22. Plate 94. Kāmṛup being entertained in his palace; and hunting with his companions.
- (9) fol. 24. Two squirrels quarrelling over a fruit.
- (10) fol. 24 b. Kāmṛup's dream—that he visits the garden of the princess Latākām, daughter of the king of Sarāṇḍip, and that he is found by her maids hiding under a tree and is brought into her presence.
- (11) fol. 25. A white lion fighting a dragon.
- (12) fol. 25 b. Kāmṛup swooning at the sight of the princess Latākām.
- (13) fol. 26. Scarlet parrots in a magnolia tree.
- (14) fol. 26 b. Kāmṛup (in his dream) being entertained by the princess Latākām.
- (15) fol. 27. An imaginary landscape in which there are two tigers, two *nīlgāes*, and a fabulous beast being killed by a bird.
- (16) fol. 27 b. Kāmṛup waking up from his dream, overwhelmed with grief and bewilderment.
- (17) fol. 28 b. The friends of Kāmṛup are perplexed at his condition, and try to console him.
- (18) fol. 29. Kāmṛup is visited by his father, who fails to rouse him from his apathy. The king consults the physicians as to the way of curing his son.
- (19) fol. 30 b. Kāmṛup relates his dream to Mitarchand, the son of his father's minister.
- (20) fol. 32 b. Ducks on a lotus pond.
- (21) fol. 33. Mitarchand explains to king Rājpatī that Kāmṛup's dream of the princess is the cause of his dejection.
- (22) fol. 34. The Brahman Samīpī arrives from Sarāṇḍip and tells Kāmṛup how Latākām, the daughter of the king of that country, had dreamt that she saw Kāmṛup in her garden and fell in love with him.
- (23) fol. 35 b. A hawk killing a partridge.
- (24) fol. 36. Kāmṛup recovering from his dejection after hearing that the princess Latākām has fallen in love with him.
- (25) fol. 37 b. Pigeons and crows.
- (26) fol. 38. Mitarchand informing the king and queen of the recovery of Kāmṛup, after hearing the report of the Brahman Samīpī.
- (27) fol. 39. Red birds on a tree by the side of a river.
- (28) fol. 39 b. Mitarchand asking the king to grant Kāmṛup permission to seek for the country of the princess Latākām.



- (29) fol. 41. A tiger chasing a black buck.
- (30) fol. 41 b. Kāmṛup taking leave of his father, and departing for the land of Sarāṇḍip.
- (31) fol. 42. A Simurgh carrying a deer to its nest.
- (32) fol. 42 b. The arrival of Kāmṛup at Hugli in Bengal.
- (33) fol. 43. Green parrots feeding on a tree, beneath which quails are grazing; on another tree, apparently an oleander, are two large white cockatoos.
- (34) fol. 43 b. Kāmṛup preparing to embark at Hugli for Sarāṇḍip.
- (35) fol. 44. Kāmṛup and his companions at sea.
- (36) fol. 45. The wreck of the ship on which were the attendants of Kāmṛup.
- (37) fol. 45 b. The wreck of Kāmṛup's ship.
- (38) fol. 46. Kāmṛup and Mitarchand floating on a plank.
- (39) fol. 46 b. Their plank is struck by a crocodile and broken in two.
- (40) fol. 47. Kāmṛup and Mitarchand are separated from one another on the two pieces of the plank.
- (41) fol. 48. Kāmṛup reaches dry land, on the Island of Women.
- (42) fol. 48 b. Kāmṛup approaches a city.
- (43) fol. 49. Kāmṛup is taken captive by the attendants of the Queen of the Island of Women.
- (44) fol. 49 b. Kāmṛup brought into the presence of the Queen.
- (45) fol. 51. Kāmṛup conversing with the Queen.
- (46) fol. 52 b. The Queen falls in love with Kāmṛup.
- (47) fol. 53 b. Kāmṛup left alone dreams that the princess Latākām appears to him and reproaches him for having forgotten her.
- (48) fol. 54. Kāmṛup wakes up from his dream, weeping and distressed.
- (49) fol. 54 b. The Queen endeavours to comfort Kāmṛup.
- (50) fol. 55. The Queen provides entertainment for Kāmṛup.
- (51) fol. 55 b. Kāmṛup seated under a tree, having escaped from the Queen into a garden.
- (52) fol. 56. The fairy Tārāvati finds Kāmṛup seated under a tree.
- (53) fol. 56 b. The fairy transports Kāmṛup through the air on her throne to her dwelling on Mount Qāf.
- (54) fol. 57. A group of cranes.
- (55) fol. 57 b. The arrival of the Prince and the fairy at Mount Qāf.
- (56) fol. 59. The fairy entertains Kāmṛup.
- (57) fol. 59 b. The fairy falls in love with Kāmṛup.
- (58) fol. 60. Suddhar, the husband of the fairy, being informed that she has fallen in love with a mortal.
- (59) fol. 60 b. A group of birds with flowers.
- (60) fol. 61. The demons coming in search of Kāmṛup.
- (61) fol. 61 b. The demons carry off Kāmṛup while he is asleep.
- (62) fol. 62. The demons bring Kāmṛup into the presence of Suddhar.
- (63) fol. 62 b. Chandrāvati, the mother of Suddhar, intercedes with her son on behalf of Kāmṛup.
- (64) fol. 63. A demon is ordered to take Kāmṛup and set him free in the jungle.



- (65) fol. 63 b. After wandering about for some time, Kāmṛup sees a hut by the side of a pond.
- (66) fol. 64. An old man, whose legs are like strips of leather, so that he is unable to walk, beckons Kāmṛup to come to the hut.
- (67) fol. 65. The old man compels Kāmṛup to carry him about on his back.
- (68) fol. 66. Kāmṛup meets two other young men, who have similarly been compelled to carry about such monsters on their backs.
- (69) fol. 66 b. Kāmṛup erects a still for making liquor.
- (70) fol. 67. Kāmṛup gives liquor to the old man to drink.
- (71) fol. 67 b. The old man invites his neighbours to share the liquor with him.
- (72) fol. 68. When they are drunk they fall off the necks of the young men, who then stone them to death.
- (73) fol. 68 b. Kāmṛup dismisses the young men and bids them return to their homes; but one refuses to leave the prince.
- (74) fol. 69. Kāmṛup and his companion set out together.
- (75) fol. 69 b. Kāmṛup, on learning that this is his old companion, Mitarchand, the son of his father's minister, faints away.
- (76) fol. 70. Mitarchand asks Kāmṛup to tell him the reason of his swoon.
- (77) fol. 70 b. Kāmṛup reveals himself to Mitarchand.
- (78) fol. 71. Mitarchand recounting to Kāmṛup his adventures after their shipwreck.
- (79) fol. 75 b. Two deer fleeing from a cheetah.
- (80) fol. 76. While Kāmṛup and Mitarchand are resting under a tree, they see a parrot.
- (81) fol. 76 b. The parrot flies down and settles on the head of Kāmṛup.
- (82) fol. 77. A lotus tank.
- (83) fol. 77 b. An ascetic named Gyānī Achāraj comes to fetch water, from the place where the two friends are sitting.
- (84) fol. 78 b. The ascetic takes Kāmṛup and Mitarchand to his hut.
- (85) fol. 79. The parrot assumes human form, and turns out to be Bidyāchand, the son of the king's pandit.
- (86) fol. 79 b. Bidyāchand tells the story of his adventures.
- (87) fol. 83 b. The ascetic, surprised to find three young men instead of two, is told how the parrot has assumed human form.
- (88) fol. 84. Four cranes.
- (89) fol. 84 b. Kāmṛup tells the story of himself and his companions to the ascetic.
- (90) fol. 85. The ascetic embraces the prince.
- (91) fol. 85 b. The ascetic informs the prince that it was he who told the king that he would have a son.
- (92) fol. 86 b. Kāmṛup and his companions take leave of the ascetic, who gives him the philosopher's stone which turns all it touches into gold.
Kāmṛup and his companions on their journey.
- (93) fol. 87. While the prince and his companions are bathing at a Hindu shrine, they are joined by Dhanantar, the son of the king's physician.
- (94) fol. 87 b. An illustration of Dhanantar's history. Dhanantar floating on a plank, after the shipwreck.
- (95) fol. 88. Dhanantar is sighted by a passing vessel.



- (96) fol. 88 b. Dhanantar is taken aboard the ship.
- (97) fol. 89. Dhanantar heals the sick son of the captain of the ship.
- (98) fol. 89 b. Dhanantar tells the captain the story of Kāmṛūp's voyage.
- (99) fol. 90 b. The captain promises to take Dhanantar to Sarāṇḍip.
- (100) fol. 91. A hunting dog seizing a black buck.
- (101) fol. 91 b. The captain of the ship on his arrival at Sarāṇḍip pays his respects to the Rājā Chhatarpat.
The captain inquires the reason of the Rājā's dejection, and learns that he is anxious about the condition of his daughter Latākām, who has fallen into a condition of profound melancholy.
- (102) fol. 92. Butterflies and irises.
- (103) fol. 92 b. The captain tells the Rājā about Dhanantar, the physician whom he has brought on his ship.
- (104) fol. 94. Dhanantar has an interview with the Rājā.
- (105) fol. 94 b. By the command of the Rājā, Dhanantar visits the princess Latākām, and feels her pulse.
- (106) fol. 95. Dhanantar reports to the Rājā that he has recognized the nature of the princess's ailment.
- (107) fol. 95 b. The Rājā sends Dhanantar to attend an envoy who has come from the king of Ceylon and has fallen ill; if Dhanantar shows his skill by curing this envoy, he will be allowed to undertake the cure of the princess.
- (108) fol. 96. Dhanantar visits the envoy of the king of Ceylon, and finds that he is his old companion, Chitarman, the son of the king's painter, who also had escaped drowning after the shipwreck.
- (109) fol. 96 b. The friends embrace after their mutual recognition, and Chitarman recovers his health.
- (110) fol. 103. Dhanantar, on being permitted to undertake the cure of the princess, inquires from her maid, Kalākām, when her mistress's illness began.
- (111) fol. 104 b. At Dhanantar's request, Chitarman paints a picture of Kāmṛūp hunting, and it is brought to the princess, who recognizes the prince she had seen in her dream.
- (112) fol. 105. Chitarman then paints another picture representing the shipwreck of Kāmṛūp, at sight of which the princess faints away. (The painter ought to have inserted this picture on folio 106 b.)
- (113) fol. 106. The princess looking at another picture painted by Chitarman, representing the Brahman Samīpī visiting Kāmṛūp, and Kāmṛūp asleep.
- (114) fol. 106 b. Another picture, representing the departure of Kāmṛūp for Sarāṇḍip, being examined by the princess.
- (115) fol. 107 b. The maid Kalākām inquiring from Dhanantar why a different picture had been sent each time. The maid learns how Kāmṛūp had seen the princess in a dream and had fallen in love with her.
- (116) fol. 108 b. Cocks and hens.
- (117) fol. 109. The princess throwing herself from her couch on hearing of the shipwreck of prince Kāmṛūp.
- (118) fol. 111. Chitarman having obtained permission from Rājā Chhatarpat to return to the king of Ceylon, on the way declares his intention of becoming a *faqīr*, and leaves his companions.



- (119) fol. 111 b. An otter devouring a fish.
- (120) fol. 112. Chitarman is about to drown himself, because he cannot find Kāmṛup, when Mitarchand recognizes him and rescues him from a watery grave.
- (121) fol. 112 b. Mitarchand takes Chitarman to rejoin Kāmṛup.
- (122) fol. 113 b. The prince welcomes Chitarman gladly.
- (123) fol. 114. Chitarman shows Kāmṛup a picture of the princess.
- (124) fol. 116. Bidyāchand, at the court of Rājā Pirthīpat, recognizes Manikchand, the son of the king's jeweller.
- (125) fol. 117. Plate 95. Two elephants fighting.
- (126) fol. 117 b. Bidyāchand and Manikchand going to join Kāmṛup.
- (127) fol. 118. Kāmṛup welcoming Manikchand.
- (128) fol. 118 b. Manikchand tells the story of his adventures since the shipwreck.
- (129) fol. 122 b. Rājā Pirthīpat comes to meet prince Kāmṛup.
- (130) fol. 123 b. Rājā Pirthīpat entertains Kāmṛup.
- (131) fol. 124 b. Plate 95. A tiger killing a buffalo.
- (132) fol. 125. The musician Rasrang playing before the Rājā and his guests.
- (133) fol. 126. Kāmṛup recognizes in Rasrang his former companion, the son of the court musician, but does not reveal himself to him, and summons him to play to him in his private apartment.
- (134) fol. 126 b. Plate 95. Pigeons.
- (135) fol. 127. Rasrang telling the story of his adventures since the shipwreck.
- (136) fol. 127 b. Two finches on a flowering tree.
- (137) fol. 128. Kāmṛup reveals himself to Rasrang.
- (138) fol. 131. Kāmṛup tells the story of Rasrang's adventures to Rājā Pirthīpat.
- (139) fol. 132. The shipwreck of the Brahman Samīpī.
- (140) fol. 132 b. The Brahman Samīpī is rescued from the waves by a passing vessel on its way to Sarāndip.
- (141) fol. 133. Samīpī goes into the temple where he was accustomed to worship.
- (142) fol. 133 b. The princess Latākām comes to the temple, and Samīpī tells her how he started from Awadh with Kāmṛup and how they were shipwrecked.
- (143) fol. 134 b. The princess bids Samīpī go in search of Kāmṛup.
- (144) fol. 135 b. Samīpī comes to the hermitage of Gyānī Achāraj and hears news of Kāmṛup's visit to him.
- (145) fol. 137. Samīpī encourages the princess to hope for the arrival of Kāmṛup.
- (146) fol. 138 b. Kāmṛup, on taking leave of Rājā Pirthīpat, learns from him that his kingdom is threatened by an attack from his enemy Jhājhar Singh.
- (147) fol. 140. Kāmṛup and his companions defeat the army of Jhājhar Singh.
- (148) fol. 141. Kāmṛup resting after the battle.
- (149) fol. 142. Rājā Pirthīpat is informed of the defeat of Jhājhar Singh by Kāmṛup.
- (150) fol. 143. Rājā Pirthīpat receives Kāmṛup and his companions, but noting that Mitarchand is not with them sends his Wazīr to fetch him.
- (151) fol. 143 b. The Wazīr, finding that Mitarchand has been wounded in the head, has his wound attended to by a surgeon.
- (152) fol. 144 b. Two deer fleeing from a tiger, which is emerging from a cave.



- (153) fol. 145. Kāmṛup and his companions taking leave of Rājā Pirthīpat.
- (154) fol. 146. Kāmṛup and his companions are attacked by a tiger.
- (155) fol. 146 b. Kāmṛup and his companions in the garden of the princess Latākām.
- (156) fol. 147. Dhanantar and Chitarman come to meet Kāmṛup in the garden of the princess.
- (157) fol. 147 b. The Brahman Samipī embraces Kāmṛup.
- (158) fol. 148 b. Plate 95. Two wild asses.
- (159) fol. 149. Bidyāchand comes into the presence of the princess Latākām in the form of a parrot.
- (160) fol. 149 b. The princess tries to catch the parrot.
- (161) fol. 150. The princess induces the parrot to settle on her hand.
- (162) fol. 150 b. The parrot assumes human form, as Bidyāchand, and alarms the princess.
- (163) fol. 151. The maid Kalākām reassures the princess by telling her that Bidyāchand is one of the companions of Kāmṛup.
- (164) fol. 151 b. Kalākām explaining to her mistress that Bidyāchand has come as a messenger from Kāmṛup to inform her of his arrival in Sarāṇḍip.
- (165) fol. 153. Bidyāchand reassumes the form of a parrot and leaves the princess.
- (166) fol. 153 b. Bidyāchand gives Kāmṛup a report of his visit to the princess.
- (167) fol. 154 b. Bidyāchand returns to the princess in the form of a parrot.
- (168) fol. 155. Bidyāchand delivers another message from Kāmṛup, and the princess gives him a turban-cloth for the prince to wear, so that she may recognize him.
- (169) fol. 155 b. When the parrot brings the turban-cloth to Kāmṛup, the prince faints away.
- (170) fol. 156. A cheetah and a black buck.
- (171) fol. 156 b. On his next visit to the princess, Bidyāchand tells her that Mitarchand has fallen in love with her maid, Kalākām, whom he has seen in a dream.
- (172) fol. 157. On his return to Kāmṛup, Bidyāchand informs him that the princess's father had ordered a Svayamvara to be held at which the princess was to select a husband for herself from the neighbouring princes, there assembled.
- (173) fol. 158 b. The princess, leaving the palace for the Svayamvara, passes Kāmṛup, on whose head the parrot is sitting, and his companions dressed as *Yogīs*.
- (174) fol. 159 b. The princess signifies her choice of a husband, by putting a necklace round the neck of Kāmṛup, in the presence of the assembled princes.
- (175) fol. 160. Two black buck.
- (176) fol. 160 b. Kāmṛup and his companions seated in front of the palace of Rājā Chhatarpat.
- (177) fol. 161. Rājā Chhatarpat discusses with his minister what is to be done with Kāmṛup.
- (178) fol. 161 b. The guarding of the well in which Kāmṛup and his companions are imprisoned.
- (179) fol. 162 b. The princess and her maid confined to her room in the palace.
- (180) fol. 164. Kāmṛup and his companions are delivered from their prison by a demon summoned by Mitarchand.
- (181) fol. 165. The demon carries them away to a place of safety.
- (182) fol. 166. Two white does.



- (183) fol. 166 b. The camp of Kāmṛup, and the army which he has assembled to march against Rājā Chhatarpat.
- (184) fol. 167 b. The army of Rājā Chhatarpat, under the command of his chief minister, is defeated by Kāmṛup, and the minister himself is taken prisoner by the demon.
- (185) fol. 168. Two hares.
- (186) fol. 168 b. Rājā Chhatarpat comes out of the fort of Sarāṇḍip, to do battle with Kāmṛup.
- (187) fol. 169 b. Plate 95. Two deer fighting.
- (188) fol. 170. Kāmṛup, aided by the demons, pursuing the defeated army of Rājā Chhatarpat.
- (189) fol. 170 b. The army of Kāmṛup laying siege to the fort of Sarāṇḍip.
- (190) fol. 171. Mitarchand coming as an envoy from Kāmṛup to Rājā Chhatarpat.
- (191) fol. 172. Mitarchand taking leave of Rājā Chhatarpat, after arranging terms of peace.
- (192) fol. 172 b. Plate 95. A black buck and other animals fleeing in terror from a tiger drinking at a stream.
- (193) fol. 173. Rājā Chhatarpat and prince Kāmṛup embracing.
- (194) fol. 173 b. Rājā Chhatarpat entertaining Kāmṛup in his palace.
- (195) fol. 176. Bidyāchand, in guise of a parrot, obtaining tidings of the princess for Kāmṛup.
- (196) fol. 177. The parrot settling on the hand of the princess.
- (197) fol. 177 b. Bidyāchand, having assumed human form, delivers the message of Kāmṛup.
- (198) fol. 178 b. Bidyāchand conveys to Kāmṛup the answer of the princess, and at the same time reports that her maid, Kalākām, has fallen in love with Mitarchand.
- (199) fol. 179. The marriage procession of Kāmṛup.
- (200) fol. 179. Kāmṛup in the palace of Rājā Chhatarpat.
- (201) fol. 181 b. The marriage of Kāmṛup and the princess.
- (202) fol. 182 b. The birth of a son to Kāmṛup and Latākām.
The news being brought to the Rājā and Kāmṛup.
- (203) fol. 183. Kāmṛup and his wife asking Rājā Chhatarpat to give them leave to depart for Awadh.
- (204) fol. 183 b. The princess Latākām in her litter.
- (205) fol. 184. Kāmṛup setting out on his journey.
- (206) fol. 184 b. Kāmṛup and his wife setting sail.
- (207) fol. 185 b. The meeting of Kāmṛup and his father, king Rājpat.
- (208) fol. 186. Two *nīlgāes*.
- (209) fol. 188 b. Kāmṛup and his friends celebrating his accession to the throne after the death of his father.



KULLIYYĀT OF SA'DĪ

Purchased in Cairo in 1914.

The *Kullīyyāt* or Complete Works of Sa'dī.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Musharrif al-Dīn (Muṣliḥ al-Dīn) Sa'dī is one of the most widely read of Persian writers, famous both as a poet and as a moralist in prose. He assumed as his poetical name Sa'dī from the name of his patron Sa'd ibn Zangī, the Atābak of Fārs (ob. 1226), to whose service his father is said to have been attached. Born at Shiraz in 1184, he lived to an advanced age, the date of his death being variously given as 1291 or 1292.

Manuscripts of the *Kullīyyāt* of Sa'dī differ very considerably in the arrangement of their contents; in the present case the order adopted is as follows:—

- (i) Preface by 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr Bīsutūn, who collected and arranged the works of Sa'dī between A.D. 1326 and 1334, fol. 1 b-3 b.
- (ii) Six Risālahs or treatises, viz. (a) Preface, fol. 3 b-7; (b) Five Majālis or homilies, fol. 7-22; (c) Su'āl-i-Ṣāhib Dīwān, the five questions addressed by Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī Ṣāhib Dīwān (ob. 1284) to Sa'dī and the poet's answers to them, fol. 22 b-24; (d) 'Aql u 'ishq, in answer to a question put by Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn, fol. 24-6; (e) Naṣīhat-i-mulūk (advice to kings), fol. 26-34 b; (f) Three anecdotes giving an account of Sa'dī's interview with Sulṭān Abaqā, the poet's advice to Ankiyānū, the Mughal governor of Fārs (A.D. 1268-72), and his remembrance to Malik Shams al-Dīn, chief revenue-collector of Fārs in 1277, fol. 34 b-37.
- (iii) Gulistān, fol. 37 b-107.
- (iv) Bustān, fol. 107 b-200.
- (v) Arabic qaṣīdahs, followed by a portion of the Persian qaṣīdahs (some pages are missing here), fol. 200 b-8.
- (vi) Marāthī, or elegies, fol. 208-13.
- (vii) Mulamma'āt, or poems with alternate Persian and Arabic verses, fol. 213 b-18.
- (viii) Tarjī'āt, or refrain poems, fol. 218 b-24.
- (ix) Ṭayyibāt, or pleasant odes, fol. 224 b-315.
- (x) Badā'i, or ornate odes, fol. 315 b-55.
- (xi) Khawātim, or signet rings, fol. 335 b-67.
- (xii) Ghazaliyyāt-i-qadīm, or early odes, fol. 367 b-77.
- (xiii) Muqaṭṭa'āt, or short poems, fol. 377 b-99.
- (xiv) Ṣāhibiyyah, epigrammatic poems, dedicated to the same Shams al-Dīn Ṣāhib Dīwān as is mentioned in (ii. (c)), fol. 399 b-402.
- (xv) Rubā'iyyāt, or quatrains, fol. 402 b-8.
- (xvi) Mufradāt, or detached distiches, fol. 408 b-11.
- (xvii) Muṭayyibāt, or jocular poems, fol. 411 b-19.
- (xviii) Hazliyyāt, or mock homilies, parodies on (ii), fol. 419 b-25.
- (xix) Muḍhikāt, or comic prose pieces, fol. 425-6.



Followed by the *Pand-nāmah*, or book of counsels, which is not included in Bīsutan's edition of the poet's works, but was ascribed to Sa'di as early as A.H. 842 (A.D. 1438-9), fols. 427 b to 433 b.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 23.5 × 14.2 cm.; the written surface measures 15.5 × 7.7 cm.; 19 lines in single or double columns, and 12 diagonal lines in margin column; 433 folios.

Of the 26 miniatures, 16 are full-page, with sometimes a few lines of script inserted; the remainder are of the width of the single column of script, and of varying heights.

The manuscript has been carelessly numbered in Arabic numbers, e.g. the numbering of folios 43 and 262 has been omitted altogether, though the text is continuous; and two successive folios are numbered 125. In several instances pages have been inserted, which interrupt the series of the original numbering; in such cases the paper is of a different texture, and generally whiter in colour, the writing is coarser, and the ink used is not of such a good quality. The manuscript has therefore been repaginated, and the inserted pages are now numbered 21, 47, 54, 75, 97, 112, 116, 134, 155, 166, 188, 198, 226, 245, 270, 306, 346, 371, 393, and 414.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is in a clear, medium-sized *nasta'liq*. The prose portions are written in a single broad column and in a narrower marginal column; the verse portions, in a double column and in a marginal column of the same size as in the case of the prose portions. On the inserted pages the text is otherwise arranged, generally in diagonal patterns.

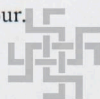
The columns are divided by two narrow gold lines, the space between which has in most cases (probably at a later date) been filled in small gold strokes of varying form; a broad band of gold frames the written part of each page, the whole being then enclosed by a thin ruling of blue; then comes a broad empty margin, enclosed, near the edge of the page, by a line of gold, except on the pages with pictures and the pages opposite the pictures and the first two pages of each section of the book, in which cases the margins have been filled in with decorative work in gold and colour.

The paper is of a medium quality, rather thin, and of a lightish colour. The inserted pages are more highly polished than the remainder.

BINDING. The binding is a complex of old and newer material; the manuscript was probably re-bound when the pages enumerated above were inserted; the back and the inside covers are of plain dark red Indian leather; but on the outer covers have been inset portions of an earlier binding in black leather, pressed with a design of conventionalized floral and tendril pattern, some portions of which are gilded so as to throw up the pattern in relief; these rectangular panels of black leather are rather less than 17.5 × 7.7 cm., and are surrounded by red leather, painted with a panelled decoration in gold.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date is given in the colophon (fol. 426), as the latter part of the month Rabī' al-akhir, 1056 (i.e. early in June, A.D. 1646). The copyist gives his name as Šafī. The originally unnumbered folios that follow (427 b-33 b) containing the *Pand-nāmah*, as well as the inserted folios, are written by a different hand and are of a later date.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The first two pages of the text are brilliant examples of decoration in burnished gold and various colours, among which scarlet and a dark blue predominate. There is an illuminated *'urwān* or head-piece as a heading to each separate section of the manuscript, and much ingenuity is displayed in varying the pattern of these head-pieces, each being different in design from the other, though agreeing in the general colour scheme. In the opening page of each section, and in the page opposite, burnished gold is used to fill up the interstices between the lines of the text, and the margins are adorned with floral patterns in gold, diversified with colour.



Where the text of any section of the book does not reach the bottom of a page, the remaining space is filled up with similar decorative work in gold and colours, so that the succeeding section of the text may begin at the top of a fresh page. Triangular pieces of coloured decoration are set in a corner of the top and the bottom of the marginal columns of the text on almost every page; the design is generally of a floral character. In the purely poetical portions of the manuscript (from fol. 200 b onwards), a new form of decoration is introduced, in the shape of small rectangular tablets (1.5 × 1.4 cm. variable), exhibiting a great variety of colour decoration, generally with a blue background and a floral design, or a small gold lozenge in the centre; in some instances the background is gold, with flowers in red and blue; from fol. 228 b onwards some of these tablets contain tiny birds (e.g. fol. 228 b, black partridges; fol. 273 b, hill-pheasants; fol. 279 b, cranes); on fol. 240 is a black buck and a fallow deer, and on fol. 244 b are two white rabbits. A skilfully decorative use is made of red ink for titles and other headings, and for quotations in Arabic, &c.

There are twenty-six miniatures, unsigned and undated. They probably belong to a later period than A.D. 1646, the date of the copying of the original parts of the manuscript, for they do not exhibit the characteristics of the painting of the reign of Shāh Jahān (A.D. 1628–59). The types of costume and of architecture in many respects resemble those in the famous manuscript in the Bankipore Public Library—the Padishāh Nāmāh (no. 566)—which is said to date from the eighteenth century.

There can be no doubt that the artist worked in India; the architecture is that of the Mughal palaces of Delhi and Agra; he faithfully represents Hindu types (e.g. nos. 5, 6, 13, 14), and is familiar with the *nandī* or bull, which is the symbol of the god Śiva, with the *tulsi* plant that is grown in the courtyard of Hindu temples, and with the conch that is sounded in Hindu worship (e.g. in no. 13). But his pictures exhibit unmistakable European influence in his delineations of trees and atmospheric effects. In certain respects his work resembles that of Muḥammad Zamān, the painter of three signed and dated (A.H. 1086 = A.D. 1675–6) pictures in a manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 2265, fols. 203, 213, 221), and one signed and one unsigned picture in a portion of a manuscript of the Shāhnāmā belonging to Mr. Chester Beatty (Persian MS. 114), who has been identified with the Muḥammad Zamān who was sent by Shāh 'Abbās to study painting in Rome, and later enjoyed the patronage of Shāh Jahān. (N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogór*, ed. W. Irvine, Vol. II, pp. 17–18.) These pictures, though markedly more Indian in style, exhibit a similarly successful blending of European treatment of landscape with genuinely oriental art, and a similar careful execution of details. A characteristic feature of this new direction in the art of painting is a more abundant use of shading, and of darker colour-tones. Though, however, infinite pains have been expended in the illumination and illustration of this manuscript, the effect is marred by the defective colour sense of the artist; while the drawing does not always reach a high standard.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows :—

- (1) fol. 21 b. The three princes and their murdered sister. A king's daughter came to a dervish, who had the reputation of being a holy man, to consult him about a disease which none of the physicians could cure. Tempted by the devil, the dervish seduced her, then murdered her, and buried her body near his cell. The devil, disguising himself as an old woman, brought the three princes to the spot and discovered to them the body of their murdered sister.
- (2) fol. 22. The dervish brought to the place of execution. The story tells how the devil, in the guise of an aged man, again tempts him, by promising him deliverance if he will bow down and worship him. The dervish again listens to the voice of the tempter, and is put to a terrible death.



- (3) fol. 48. The army of the king who was remiss in paying his troops, fleeing before an invading enemy.
- (4) fol. 54. The master-wrestler throwing to the ground his pupil, who has dared to challenge him, in the presence of the king and his court.
- (5) fol. 75 b. The young man, who has no money, belabouring the boatman who refuses to ferry him across the river.
- (6) fol. 76. The boatman in revenge has persuaded the young man to seat himself on the top of a pillar rising out of the ruins of a Greek building, with a hawser in his hand, on the pretext that the vessel is in danger and that it is necessary to swing her head round by means of the hawser. The boatman then abandons the young man to his fate.
- (7) fol. 96 b. Sa'di, in the presence of the judge, becoming reconciled with the dervish, with whom he has had an altercation as to the respective merits of the rich and the poor.
- (8) fol. 112. A saint, riding a leopard and using a snake as a whip, explains that he has attained this power of control over the wild beasts, as the result of his obedience to the commands of God, who gives power to those who serve him.
- (9) fol. 117. The king conversing with his newly appointed wazir.
- (10) fol. 135. Abraham entertaining the fire-worshipper.
- (11) fol. 155 b. The judge and the law student. A student of law, having come into the court of the judge, was ordered to sit down in an inferior place, because of his poverty-stricken appearance; but when the lawyers arguing a case could find no satisfactory solution, he displayed his knowledge of the law and led them to the right conclusion. Whereupon the judge, ashamed of his former behaviour, sent the poor student his own turban to wear, but he refused the proffered honour, lest wearing it he should become degraded by pride.
- (12) fol. 167. A skilful archer, deserted by fortune, is caught in a noose, while fighting with the Tartars.
- (13) fol. 188 b. Sa'di rebukes a Brahman for worshipping an idol in the temple of Somnāth.
- (14) fol. 189. Sa'di escaping from the temple, after having smashed the idol.
- (15) fol. 198 b. Sa'di sees a repentant sinner praying earnestly in the mosque.
- (16) fol. 226. A religious teacher engaged in meditation, with his disciples.
- (17) fol. 245. A Shaykh giving advice to a young prince.
- (18) fol. 270. Sa'di at a drinking party.
- (19) fol. 270 b. A lion reclining by the side of a pool.
- (20) fol. 306. Sa'di visited by a young prince.
- (21) fol. 346. Sa'di at a drinking party.
- (22) fol. 371. Sa'di embracing the feet of a young prince.
- (23) fol. 392 b. An old man, lying sick, visited by a friend.
- (24) fol. 413 b. A husband and wife telling their mutual grievances against one another to a young man.
- (25) fol. 428. A young man giving alms to two dervishes.
- (26) fol. 430 b. Sa'di at a drinking party, in a garden.



KHAMSAH OF NIZĀMĪ

PLATE 96

Purchased from Demotte, Paris, in 1919.

An early seventeenth-century manuscript containing four of the Five Poems, or Khamsah, of Nizāmī.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Nizāmī of Ganjah (A.D. 1140-1203), the foremost romantic poet of Persia, and, with Firdawsī, the most frequently illustrated of all Persian writers, was the author of five great poems. These, usually known as the Khamsah or Quintet, were:

(1) Makhzan al-Asrār, or 'The Store of Mysteries', a mystical poem containing numerous embedded anecdotes.

(2) Khusraw and Shirin, a romantic poem on the love of the Sasanian King Khusraw Parwiz for Shirin, and the tragedy of Shirin's lover Farhād, the sculptor of the Bisutūn reliefs.

(3) Laylā and Majnūn, a pathetic Arabian love-story.

(4) Haft Paykar, or Bahrām-nāmah, treating of the life of the Sasanian King, Bahrām Gur, and including seven stories told to Bahrām by seven princesses, whom he visits successively in seven differently coloured pavilions.

(5) Iskandar-Nāmah, the Book of Alexander, containing an account of the adventures of Alexander the Great, and his views on wisdom. This poem is divided into two parts, usually known as the Iqbāl-nāmah and the Khirad-nāmah.

In this copy the Laylā and Majnūn has been omitted.

The other four poems are arranged as follows:

fol. 1 b to 30, Makhzan al-Asrār.

fol. 34 b to 124, Khusraw and Shirin.

fol. 130 b to 192, Haft Paykar.

fol. 193 b to 279 b, Iskandar-Nāmah, part 1.

fol. 280 b to 325, Iskandar-Nāmah, part 2.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 26.5 × 15.3 cm. The written surface measures 18 × 9.9 cm.; 21 lines; 326 folios. The miniature (fol. 1) measures 16.7 × 9.9 cm.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing throughout is an exquisite *nasta'liq*, arranged in four columns (except on the two opening pages, where there are two columns only) with double gilt rulings between the columns. The text is written almost throughout on carefully prepared gold-sprinkled, dark cream-coloured paper, and is ruled at the margins, generally in blue, red, and gold. The headings are written in red. Several folios are later than the rest of the text, and there are many blank pages. The manuscript has been reset in margins of a later date than the paper of the text, and of a much lighter colour.

BINDING. The manuscript has been re-bound in plain green leather.

DATE AND SCRIBE. (1) The Makhzan al-Asrār is not dated or signed at the end, but at the bottom of folio 2 are the words 'written by the slave, Muḥammad Ḥusain'.

(2) The Khusraw and Shirin contains a detailed colophon (fol. 124), which has, however, been damaged, and not all of it is easy to decipher; a few of the words have been inked in



later. The colophon states that the writing of the poem was completed in the month of Ramaḡān A.H. 1022 (October–November A.D. 1613) by 'Abd al-Bārī, 'weakest of slaves', in the private library of Nawwāb Bahādur Khān, at Akbarābād (Agra). There were several personages of note in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, bearing the name 'Bahādur Khān', and this is perhaps Bahādur Khān Uzbek, whose real name was Abu'l-Nabī. He was formerly Governor of Mashhad, but he took service under Akbar, and Jahāngīr made him Governor of Qandahār.¹ He is mentioned in Jahāngīr's Memoirs.

(4) The Haft Paykar was written by another scribe, Mir Muṣṭafā, but the colophon on folio 192, which bears his name, is not dated.

Neither 'Abd al-Bārī nor Muṣṭafā appears to have been well known.

(5.1) The same 'Abd al-Bārī was apparently the scribe of the first part of the Iskandar-Nāmāh, and folio 279 b contains the particulars that the writing of the poem was completed on the 4th of Rajab, A.H. 1023 (10th July A.D. 1614) in the library of Bahādur Khān. The writer's signature is given as 'Abd al-Bārī, son of Saiyid Muḡammad al-Ḥasanī, but the signature has been inked in and its genuineness is not above suspicion.

(5.2) The last poem is signed by 'Muṣṭafā, son of Maulānā Muḡammad Yūsuf', and the date, which is written in figures, is A.H. 938 (= A.D. 1531–2). Both the word 'Muḡammad' and the date appear, however, to be later additions, and the date at least can hardly be genuine. The probability is that the whole manuscript was written in the early years of Jahāngīr's reign.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Folio 1, which is preceded by two blank folios ruled for writing, contains the only illustration (Plate 96). This, which was clearly designed as the frontispiece, is in the finest style of the early seventeenth century. In the upper part of the picture an elderly Muhammadan, perhaps Bahādur Khān, is depicted kneeling; his left hand holds a rosary, while his right is extended to receive a book—presumably the present volume—which a young man kneels to present to him. An attendant stands on the left. In the lower part of the picture are three other attendants, one holding a saddled horse. The ground is golden, with tufts and tendrils of semi-formalized plants and flowers.

In the middle of the picture, separating the two groups, is a circular medallion containing an eight-pointed blue star on a gold ground, with a variegated coloured flower design on both. The whole is enclosed in an outer border of gold panels and rosettes on a blue ground.

The two following pages (1 b and 2) have each two columns of script divided by double rulings, and enclosed in three gaily decorated floral borders, with an added band above and below. The writing is on 'cloud' forms with a gold hatch background. Both pages are of unusual gorgeousness and beauty, the outer black border being a noticeable feature.

The two following pages of the text (2 b and 3) are also written on 'cloud' forms, but the background is of solid gold. The writing is in four columns, and there are no borders. The opening pages of all the other poems (as well as fols. 123 b and 124) are similarly written; fols. 130 b, 131, 280 b, and 281 having in addition coloured flowers between the lines.

The remaining ornamentation of the manuscript is of various kinds. On fols. 28 b to 30 are triangular coloured floral ornaments on blue and gold grounds; fols. 30 b (half-page only) and 34 have an all-over geometrical pattern in gold, filled in with blue and gold flowers; at the top of fol. 130 is a drawing of a tiger with foliage, in gold.

The illuminated headings on fols. 34 b, 130 b, and 280 b are all different, the two former consist of rectangular panels in blue and gold with a band above, both having coloured floral designs; fol. 280 b contains a complicated curved head-piece with a coloured floral design on a gold ground, fol. 193 b has a more modern head-piece in gold, blue, and mauve.

¹ Vide *Ma'aṣṣir al-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 400.



DĪWĀN OF ḤĀFIZ

PLATE 97

Purchased from Imre Schwaiger, of Bond Street, London, in 1929.
Extracts from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiz.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, usually known by his title of Ḥāfiz, which implies that he knew the Qur'ān by heart, was born in Shīrāz about A.D. 1320, and died in the same city in A.H. 791 or 792 (= A.D. 1389 or 1390). He is the most famous lyric poet of Persia, and his *Dīwān* contains his complete works.

The manuscript in its present form is a fragment. Another, and much larger, portion of the same manuscript is in the British Museum collection (Or. 7573), as is clear from a comparison of the writing, illumination, and miniatures, all of which are exactly similar, though the portions have different borders. Apparently the folios of the two portions were remounted independently, but how they came to be separated, or how they came together again (for the immediate provenance of the two portions is the same), cannot be ascertained.

The indubitably genuine portion of the present manuscript is that consisting of fols. 4 to 51. Fols. 3b and 52, containing the opening of the *Dīwān* and the colophon, are modern, the style of the original being clumsily imitated.

Further, fols. 2b, and 3, 52b and 53 do not appear to belong to the original. The inscriptions which they contain are probably late forgeries.

Traces of an earlier pagination remain; e.g. fols. 10 to 15 are numbered 152 to 157, fols. 24 to 31 are numbered 230 to 237, fol. 32 is numbered 261, fols. 33 to 40 are numbered 337 to 344, and fol. 45 is numbered 280.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 14 × 9 cm.; the written surface measures 7.5 × 4.5 cm.; two columns of 9 lines; 53 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a minute, elegant, and beautiful *nasta'liq*, written for the most part in double columns, divided from one another by two narrow gold lines; two bands of gold, the outer about twice the width of the inner, enclose each page. The original pages have been reset.

The paper on which the text is written is of an agreeable light brown; the margins being of a lighter tone.

BINDING. The binding is of modern leather painted with gold, with three red lines drawn along the outer edges.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date given in the colophon, and in an inscription on fol. 53, is A.H. 990 (= A.D. 1582), the copyist's name being 'Abd al-Ṣamad.

No reliance, however, can be placed on these later additions. The miniature is clearly later than 1582.

Among the eight miniatures in the portion of this manuscript, which is in the British Museum (Or. 7573), are three which contain portraits of the Emperor Jahāngir, and of other members of the royal family and the court. From an examination of these portraits, and from the general style of the miniatures, they can be dated with confidence in the early years of Jahāngir's reign. One of them appears to represent Prince Khurram



offering precious stones to the Emperor at Urta in the year A.D. 1607, and the others are probably of about the same date;¹ the text of the manuscript may, however, be much earlier.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The margins are decorated with varied conventionalized floral designs, stencilled in gold. Fols. 1b and 2 are similarly stencilled, and contain in the centre of each page a representation of a human head emerging from blue petals, and enclosed in a circular golden sun with wavy rays. Possibly these designs have been painted over seals or inscriptions. They have that appearance.

Fols. 2b and 3 contain illuminated pages pasted in, apparently from another narrower manuscript, with plain outer margins. In the centre panels are inscriptions written in white on gold grounds.

Fols. 52b and 53 contain similar decorated centre panels, with inscriptions in red.

The illumination of these four pages is mainly in blue and gold, with gold and coloured floral motives.

The inscriptions, which are badly written, and are considerably later than the manuscript, are to the effect that the manuscript was executed in the reign of Akbar, and at his order, by Khwājah 'Abd al-Šamad 'of Herat' in the year A.H. 990 (= A.D. 1582).

Fol. 53b contains a large stencilled flower design in gold.

On fol. 7 (Plate 97 (a)) is a full-page miniature, representing a young prince in a garden listening to an elderly man, who is reading, from the volume which he holds in his hand, the first hemistich of the *ghazal* which is written at the top of the page. The prince wears a pink dress and red turban, and the dress of the sage is striped purple and white. The general colouring is sober and pleasing.

The style and colour are closely similar to most of those of the miniatures in the British Museum portion of this manuscript.

Scattered throughout the volume are a number of little birds, generally in pairs, among foliage, which are triumphs of exquisite and minute painting. Among them can be recognized the blue jay, the green pigeon, the kingfisher, the demoiselle crane, the *sāras* crane, &c. (Plate 97 (b, c, d), fols. 39, 49, and 40b.)

Mr. Chester Beatty owns another manuscript of Ḥāfiz, included in the Persian Collection (MS. 64), with designs of birds closely similar to those in this manuscript.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On fol. 1 are the following seals:

- (1) *Above.* The circular seal of Akbar, with the words Allāhu Akbar Jalla Jalāluhu.²
- (2) *In the centre.* Aṣad Khān, servant of Pādishāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī,³ with the date A.H. 1103 (= A.D. 1691-2). A circular seal.
- (3) *Below.* Mu'azzaz Khān, servant of Pādishāh Ghāzī Muḥammad Shāh, with the date A.H. 1132 (?) (= A.D. 1719-20). A circular seal.
- (4) *Upper small circular seal.* Maḥwī Allāhu Akbar, with the date '90 (perhaps for A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582)).
- (5) *Lower small circular seal.* Ruḥ Allāh Khān.
- (6) *Small oblong seal.* Nūr Jahān Begam 'Izzat Muḥalānī Salīm.

There is another seal which is illegible.

On folio 1b is a smaller seal of Akbar, similar to (1) above, and a duplicate of (6) above, with the date A.H. 1114 (A.D. 1702-3).

On folio 2 is a still smaller seal of Akbar.

On folio 55b the large seal of Akbar is repeated, and underneath is an *arz-dīdah* of A.H. 1115 (A.D. 1703-4).

¹ See an interesting study by M. Ivan Stchoukine, 'Quelques Images de Jahāngīr dans un Diwān de Ḥāfiz', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1931, pp. 160-7, on the miniatures in Or. 7573.

² For Akbar's various seals, examples of which are of

the greatest rarity, see Abu'l-Fazl, *Ā'in i Akbarī*, Ā'in 20. The form of words on the seals in this manuscript is that mentioned by him.

³ Awrangzeb.



The colophon states that this selection from the Diwān of Ḥafiz was copied by the 'weakest of slaves Khwājah 'Abd al-Ṣamad, Shīrīn-qalam', in the year A.H. 990 at the instigation of Aṣaf Khān.

The inscriptions on fols. 2b, 3, 52b, and 53 have already been mentioned.

The forged colophon and inscriptions seem to be the work of a manipulator who wished to add historical interest by suggesting that in the year A.D. 1582 Aṣaf Khān, who was the brother of Jahāngīr's future wife Nūr Jahān, had this manuscript prepared by the celebrated 'Abd al-Ṣamad for his brother-in-law to be. Verisimilitude was aided by the addition of the folios with the seals of Akbar and Nūr Jahān. Unfortunately, however, Aṣaf Khān was an infant, aged one year, in A.D. 1582, Prince Salim being then a boy of thirteen. Moreover, 'Abd al-Ṣamad, according to Abu'l-Fazl, was not a native of Herat, but of Shīrāz, his father having been Wazīr to Shah Shujā' of Shīrāz.

16

BAḤR AL-ḤAYĀT

PLATE 98

Purchased from Luzac, London, in 1928.

A Persian translation of a Sanskrit work, entitled *Amṛitakuṇḍa*, or 'Reservoir of Life', on the theory and practice of *Yoga*.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. This manuscript appears to be unique, though there is a fragment (chapter 2) of the same text in the British Museum (Add. 5651. 11, see Rieu, p. 59b).

The author, Ḥusayn of Gwalior, states in the introduction that he is the son of Muḥammad i Ḥusaynī of Sāran, and that he has written the book at Broach under the direction of his preceptor, whom he mentions by the title of 'Ghiyās al-Darāyn Ḥakim al-Kawnayn'.

The account which he gives of the origin of the work is as follows. When Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Balāband conquered Bengal, a Hindu scholar named Kāmā, hearing of the religion of Islām, went to the capital Lakhnautī (Ghor) in search of a Muḥammadan scholar. He was introduced to Qāzī Rukn al-Dīn of Samarqand, and after some discussion Kāmā accepted Islām, studied Islamic doctrine, and eventually became a *muftī*. Later he wrote a book about *Yoga* and dedicated it to the Qāzī.

The book was subsequently translated into Arabic, in thirty chapters, and then into Persian in ten chapters. The present work is an emended version of the original Persian edition.

The manuscript contains a preface and ten chapters, of which the subjects are—

- I. The human body and the world, viewed as the microcosm and the macrocosm.
- II. The functions of the breath.
- III. The mind and its secrets.
- IV. The eighty-four postures of *Yogīs*, twenty-one of which are illustrated in this work.
- V. The creation of man, and various systems of breathing.
- VI. The human body.
- VII. The reasoning faculty.



VIII. Bodily corruption and the signs of the approach of death.

IX. The methods of control (*taskhīr*).

X. The Hindu theory of the creation of the world.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 22.0 × 13.0 cm.; the written surface measures 16.4 × 7.8 to 8 cm. variable; 17 lines; 64 folios. The twenty-one miniatures vary in height (the highest measuring 13.5 cm.) and all are the width of the script (except one, no. 2, measuring 10.5 cm.).

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a fair *nasta'liq*; the headings and diagrams being in red ink. The paper, which is of a biscuit tone, is unpolished. The margins are modern and of a lighter colour than the original pages. Each page is framed within ruled lines, generally gold and blue.

BINDING. The binding, which is modern, is of dark brown leather with blind-tooled borders, centre medallion, and four oblong panels, the latter containing Koranic phrases.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The date and the name of the scribe are not given, but the manuscript is probably contemporary with the drawings, which seem to date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.




ILLUSTRATIONS. There are twenty-one illustrations, which appear to have been executed in the latter part of the sixteenth or the early years of the seventeenth century. Each of these represents one of the postures (*āsana* and *mudrā*) of *Yogis*. These exercises play a prominent part in *Yoga*, which is a branch of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophical system. They consist in various bodily attitudes, combined with inhalations and exhalations of the breath, and the concentration of the gaze on particular points.

In the following descriptions full details of these complicated postures have not been attempted. The names are those given by the writer. In some cases, it will be noted, the traditional Sanskrit names have been translated by him into Persian; for instance no. 3, where the word *bākhah* is a translation of the Sanskrit *kūrma*, 'tortoise'. In other cases the Sanskrit term is retained.

The colouring is sombre and the artist has concentrated on the figure drawing, which is unusually accomplished. Each drawing shows a *Yogī* performing a particular exercise, usually outside his hut or shrine, sometimes on a platform; and in one instance (no. 16) inside a cleared circle. The facial types show great diversity, and the huts and buildings are of various kinds; some of them are of masonry, others are of grass or leaves (e.g. no. 17); no. 19 shows a kind of cave in the rocks.

Behind the hut one or more trees are generally shown, and a variety of vessels, bundles, and other articles are displayed. One of the *Yogīs* has a flag flying (no. 5); several are accompanied by dogs (nos. 1, 12, 13, 17, 19), for which a cat is substituted in no. 2, a deer in no. 14, and a parrot in no. 11.

The subjects of the separate illustrations are as follows:

- (1) fol. 10. Preliminary kneeling posture. The *yogī* kneels, facing towards his right, with his hands on his thighs. The miniature is somewhat damaged.
- (2) fol. 17.  The *yogī* kneels, facing to the left, with his chin resting on the right hand, and the right elbow on the left hand, which rests on his right knee.
- (3) fol. 17b. One of the two  postures. The *yogī* sits with his head turned towards his right, the left knee on the ground and the right knee raised.
- (4) fol. 18. Plate 98.  The *yogī* leans forward, facing to the left of the illustration, 'like a child in its mother's womb', with his hands over his ears.



- (5) fol. 18 b. چکری The *yogī* kneels with his head turned to his left and hands crossed.
- (6) fol. 19. نیولی The *yogī* sits erect with his knees turned outwards and hands on knees.
- (7) fol. 19 b. کور کھی The *yogī* sits with his knees turned outwards and the soles of his feet touching; the hands are behind his back, the head is inclined downwards to his right.
- (8) fol. 20. اکوچن The *yogī* stands on his head with hands (palms downwards) on the ground, knees bent and feet joined. His back view is shown.
- (9) fol. 20 b. اهد جند The *yogī* kneels with both hands raised; the tips of the first finger and thumb of each hand are joined and held at the ears.
- (10) fol. 21. نصبد The *yogī* sits upright with his knees turned outwards, the soles of his feet joined and pointing upwards, and his hands resting on his right shoulder.
- (11) fol. 22. ستیلی The *yogī* sits with his knees turned outwards, legs crossed near the feet, soles upwards, and hands lowered. His face is partly turned to his right.
- (12) fol. 22 b. هوئکم The *yogī* kneels with hands extended and resting (palms downwards) on the thighs. His face is turned to his right.
- (13) fol. 23. The name of the posture is not given. A folio appears to be missing between fols. 22 and 23. The *yogī* is shown seated with his face turned to his right; the knees are wide apart, the soles of the feet are turned upwards, and the hands lowered with the fingers joined.
- (14) fol. 24. کچیری This illustrates the famous *khecharī mudrā*, in which, the tongue having been artificially extended, its tip is inserted in the palate; inhalation is stopped, and loss of consciousness results. The *yogī* is shown facing towards his right, kneeling, with knees somewhat apart, hands turned inwards, the backs resting on the thighs; the head is bent and the eyes are turned upwards.
- (15) fol. 24 b. تکتکا The *yogī* kneels, facing towards his right, with hands resting on the thighs and head turned upwards.
- (16) fol. 25. Plate 98. کبیک The *yogī* sits with knees raised and extended, feet crossed, elbows lowered, and hands on the knees.
- (17) fol. 25 b. سبها اسن The *yogī* kneels with his knees apart, hands resting on the thighs, the thumbs pointing downwards on the inside of the thighs, and elbows facing outwards.
- (18) fol. 26. جکر The *yogī* sits upright with head turned to his left and inclined downwards, elbows joined on the breast, and hands holding the shoulders near the neck. The knees are lowered and point outwards, the feet are not crossed.
- (19) fol. 26 b. تنبه The *yogī*, seated in the lotus posture (*padmāsana*), raises himself from the ground on his two hands, which are placed (palms downwards) on the ground.
- (20) fol. 27. بجو The *yogī*, with knees outstretched, bends forwards, and passing his arms under his legs, joins his hands behind his neck; the top of the head rests on the ground. The illustration is considerably damaged.
- (21) fol. 27 b. سن اسن The *yogī*, facing towards his left, raises himself from the ground with his hands, which are clenched; the knees point outwards, and the toes rest on the elbows. The illustration is somewhat damaged.



SHĀH-NĀMAH

PLATE 99

Purchased in New York in 1919.

A late sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Shāh-nāmāh*, illustrated with Indian and Persian miniatures.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Abu'l-Qāsim Hasan, called Firdawsī, was born about A.D. 935, and is said to have died at the age of ninety after a life full of vicissitudes. His world-famous national epic, the *Shāh-nāmāh*, tells the story of Irān from legendary ages down to the death of the last Sasanian king, Yazdigird III.

This manuscript is not correctly arranged. It has been re-bound, and the pages have been reset at least once, very many being hopelessly misplaced. There is no beginning or end, and the first consecutive passage relates to the reign of Luhrāsp, the fourth of the kings of the Kayānian dynasty.

Some pages, apparently from this manuscript, were sold at Sotheby's in May 1930, and others have appeared in the London market.

SIZE AND FOLIOS. 28.1 × 17 cm. ; written surface, as a rule, 19 × 7.7 cm., but there are some variations. The folios have been numbered consecutively (299 + 6 separate folios), but there is an earlier numbering from which it appears that there were at one time 325 folios. Even then the manuscript cannot have contained the whole poem. The thirty-one miniatures (and the six separate miniatures) vary in size and shape, the widest measuring 11.5 × 9.5 cm.

WRITING AND PAPER. The poem is written in a good, rather small, *nasta'liq*, in two columns separated by a double gilt ruling. There are usually twenty-three lines to the page, and the writing is also continued diagonally in the margins. The section headings are in red, and the margins have a gold ruling near the outer edges. The paper, which is thin with a fair sheen, varies in colour from a dark biscuit shade to a pale duck's-egg green.

BINDING. Black rough leather, with three centre sunk designs of brown flowers on a gold ground.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is not dated, but it appears probable that it was written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The scribe's name is not mentioned.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The illustrations have not been carried to completion. There is, for instance, on fol. 6 b, a space left by the scribe for an illustration which has not been supplied. Moreover, none of the Indian illustrations are coloured throughout, though there is gold in all of them. There are no ornamental pages or headings.

The illustrations are thirty-one (and six) in number. Of these, sixteen are Indian, and these alone will be noticed here. The remaining fifteen are late Persian work of inferior quality. The Indian miniatures, on the other hand, are of considerable interest and merit, and belong apparently to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The faces are usually carefully drawn, and occasionally the artist has attempted to depict emotion through facial expression. There are traces of European influence in the shading. The battle scenes,



however, mainly follow Persian tradition. The artist's anachronism of arming the soldiers of ancient Irān with muskets (sometimes held in a very strange manner) is noticeable.

Besides the illustrations to the text, there are minute uncoloured drawings of birds and animals, on the recto and verso of fols. 6, 9, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 62, and on 58 recto. These are drawn usually inside the triangles which separate the diagonal marginal portions of the text on each page. All are beautifully executed.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows:

- (1) fol. 13. The fight between Gushtāsp and Ilyās. Gushtāsp, having dismounted his wounded enemy, seizes him by the hand and drags him off to Caesar.
 - (2) fol. 21. Plate 99(a). The battle between the hosts of Irān under Gushtāsp, and Turān, under Arjāsp.
 - (3) fol. 23. Another illustration of the same battle.
 - (4) fol. 32 b. Plate 99(b). Isfandiyār, feasting in a grove, is tempted by a witch, in the guise of a beautiful maiden. He slays her with his sword, on which she resumes her proper appearance.
 - (5) fol. 37 b. Nūsh Āzar slays Tūrkhān with a sword-cut in a cavalry duel.
 - (6) fol. 38 b. Kuhram, worsted by Isfandiyār, is taken off in custody.
 - (7) fol. 48 b. Rustam grasps the hand of Isfandiyār with such strength that it bleeds. The dog in the foreground is apparently a Salūki.
 - (8) fol. 55. Isfandiyār, shot in the eyes by Rustam with a double-pointed arrow, falls from his horse.
 - (9) fol. 57 b. Isfandiyār's coffin is taken to Gushtāsp by Bishūtan. The artist's attempt to denote strong emotion on the face of the mourners, though not very successful, is noticeable (though not unique) as a break from the usual tradition.
 - (10) fol. 62. Farāmūrz avenges the death of Rustam. The king of Kābul is flayed alive, while Shaghād is burnt with the chenar tree to which the dying Rustam had pinned him with an arrow. Rustam is shown in an oval at the bottom of the picture.
 - (11) fol. 64. Farāmūrz, wounded in battle, is impaled by order of Bahman.
 - (12) fol. 67 b. The battle between the armies of Dārāb and of Rūm. The warriors of Caesar are wearing voluminous Turkish turbans.
 - (13) fol. 68 b. Humāi gives audience to her son Dārāb, and surrenders the throne to him. Attendants shower jewels on the seated Dārāb.
 - (14) fol. 74. Sikandar (Alexander the Great) has the two ministers of Dārā impaled in revenge for his murder.
 - (15) fol. 74 b. Sikandar married to the daughter of Dārā.
 - (16) fol. 82 b. The battle between Sikandar and Fur of Hind. Sikandar, by means of iron horses and riders filled with naphtha, defeats Fur's army and slays him.
- (Six extra folios:)
- (17) Isfandiyār from a chariot slaying a dragon.
 - (18) The dying Rustam, caught in a pit, slaying his brother Shaghād.
 - (19) A battle exploit of Isfandiyār.
 - (20) Zawārah and Farāmūrz in battle.
 - (21) Rustam wounded in battle with Isfandiyār.
 - (22) A battle scene, and Sikandar supporting the dying Dārā.



YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

PLATE 100.

Purchased at Sotheby's, 21 November 1928, lot 84 B (the property of Sir Hercules Read).

A volume of eighteenth-century miniatures illustrating incidents in Jāmī's poem *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, with short descriptions in Persian of the illustrations, and quotations from the poem.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Mullā Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, who was born in A.D. 1414 and died in 1493, was the most versatile writer of the Timurid period, and one of the greatest Persian poets and scholars of all time. The *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* is the most famous and popular of his seven *mathnawīs*. It is a mystical, romantic narrative poem on the love-story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

This manuscript contains only fragments, subsidiary to the illustrations of the poem, the verses being written, as a rule, below the prose descriptions, their pages facing the miniatures.

SIZE. 26 × 15.6 cm.; the size of the written surface varies from 13.7 to 15.8 × 7.5 to 8.5 cm.; the number of lines varies from 6 to 12 to a page; 102 folios. The fifty-seven miniatures measure 14.3 to 15 × 7.5 cm. The miniature on fol. 102 occupies almost the whole of the breadth of the page in its lowest portion; the upper part is defective.

WRITING AND PAPER. Written in a clear *nasta'liq*, the verses being in two columns, separated by a double gilt ruling, and enclosed within blue, red, and gold ruled lines.

The manuscript has been repaired, probably more than once, and some of the folios have quite modern margins. Many folios have been backed with Chinese paper.

BINDING. Maroon leather, with gold-tooled centre panel and leaf border.

DATE AND SCRIBE. On fol. 1, at the end of the description of the first illustration, the words 'Rajab, 1278' are written. This date, which corresponds to January 1862, clearly cannot apply to the illustrations, the date of which is discussed under the following heading. The scribe's name is not given.

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The pages containing illustrations are decorated in the margins with triangular and oblong cartouches of gold floral designs outlined in blue. These have been roughly imitated on the pages of the text.

The Chinese paper with which many of the folios have been backed is tinted in various colours, and bears variegated gilt and coloured designs, apparently stencilled.

There are fifty-six illustrations, remarkable for their delicacy of colouring and fineness of line. White is used with great effect. While they present certain archaistic features, they bear signs of having been originally executed about the middle of the eighteenth century. Some of them have been retouched at a later date, and, in particular, many of the head-dresses have been repainted; the typical, tall black Persian head-dress of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has often been substituted for the Mughal *ṣāfah*.

The painting on fol. 102 is apparently of the period of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh



(A.D. 1719-48). Though much damaged, it is a beautiful example of the so-called Renaissance of this emperor's reign.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows:

- (1) fol. 2. (A triple illustration.)
 - i. The birth of Yūsuf, son of Ya'qūb.
 - ii. Yūsuf and his aunt. Yūsuf, after the death of his mother, was brought up by his aunt. When Ya'qūb sent for him, she devised a plan for his return. Tying a girdle round him, she gave out that she had lost it. Yūsuf, suspected of stealing it, was brought back to her according to law.
 - iii. Yūsuf and his father Ya'qūb.
- (2) fol. 4. A daughter, Zulaykhā, was born to a certain king of the West. The illustration shows the King in converse with the Queen and the nurse.
- (3) fol. 6. Zulaykhā asleep. She sees Yūsuf in a dream, and falls in love with him.
- (4)¹ fol. 7 b. The love-sick Zulaykhā with her maidens.
- (5)² fol. 9. Zulaykhā asleep in her father's palace.
- (6) fol. 11. Zulaykhā telling her nurse of her dream.
- (7) fol. 12 b. Zulaykhā with her nurse, after seeing Yūsuf twice again in her dreams, and being informed by him (somewhat prematurely!) that he is Wazīr of Egypt.
- (8) fol. 14. Ambassadors from different courts suing Zulaykhā's father for an alliance.
- (9) fol. 16. Messengers, sent by Zulaykhā's father to arrange a marriage with the Wazīr of Egypt, delivering their message.
- (10) fol. 18. Plate 100 (a). Zulaykhā journeying to Egypt for her marriage with the Wazīr.
- (11) fol. 20. The Wazīr riding to Zulaykhā's camp.
- (12) fol. 22. Zulaykhā seeing the Wazīr through an opening in her tent, and discovering that he is not Yūsuf.
- (13) fol. 24. The return of Zulaykhā, escorted by the Wazīr, to his palace.
- (14) fol. 25 b. Zulaykhā in Egypt, after marrying the Wazīr, longing for Yūsuf.
- (15) fol. 27 b. Yūsuf and his brothers with their father Ya'qūb.
- (16) fol. 29 b. Yūsuf's dream of the sun and moon and the eleven planets doing him reverence.
- (17) fol. 31. The brothers of Yūsuf plotting against him.
- (18) fol. 33. The brothers of Yūsuf asking their father Ya'qūb's permission to take Yūsuf out with them.
- (19) fol. 35. Plate 100 (b). The brothers preparing to throw Yūsuf into a well.
- (20) fol. 36 b. Yūsuf, rescued by one of a company of merchants, and sold by his brother to Mālik.
- (21) fol. 38. The Wazīr visiting Yūsuf and the merchant Mālik.
- (22) fol. 40. Yūsuf being brought to the Nile by Mālik.
- (23) fol. 41 b. Yūsuf seen by Zulaykhā from her litter.
- (24) fol. 43 b. Zulaykhā peeping at Yūsuf from her elephant.
- (25) fol. 45 b. The girl Bāzighah enamoured of Yūsuf.

¹ Marked as no. 5 in the description.

² Marked as no. 4 in the description.



- (26) fol. 47. Zulaykhā's entertainment of Yūsuf after purchasing him as a slave.
- (27) fol. 49. Yūsuf relating his story to Zulaykhā.
- (28) fol. 50 b. Plate 100 (c). Yūsuf, at his request, appointed shepherd by Zulaykhā.
- (29) fol. 52 b. Zulaykhā and Yūsuf.
- (30) fol. 54. Zulaykhā questioned by her nurse about her love for Yūsuf.
- (31) fol. 55 b. The nurse telling Yūsuf of Zulaykhā's love for him.
- (32) fol. 57 b. Zulaykhā's approaches repelled by Yūsuf.
- (33) fol. 59. Yūsuf tempted in the garden by Zulaykhā's handmaids.
- (34) fol. 61. Yūsuf and the handmaids.
- (35) fol. 63. Zulaykhā with her nurse, devising a plan to entrap Yūsuf.
- (36) fol. 65. The house, adorned with pictures of herself and Yūsuf seated together, which Zulaykhā caused to be constructed, to tempt him.
- (37) fol. 66 b. Zulaykhā tempting Yūsuf in the house with the pictures.
- (38) fol. 68 b. Yūsuf fleeing from the house.
- (39) fol. 70 b. Yūsuf, brought before Zulaykhā by the Wazīr, falsely accused by her of assaulting her.
- (40) fol. 72 b. The miraculous testimony of an infant to the innocence of Yūsuf.
- (41) fol. 74 b. The summoning of Yūsuf by Zulaykhā in the presence of the women of Egypt, who had reproached her for her love.
- (42) fol. 76. Plate 100 (d). The women of Egypt, in astonishment at the beauty of Yūsuf, cutting their fingers with their fruit-knives.
- (43) fol. 78. Yūsuf in prison.
- (44) fol. 79 b. Zulaykhā repenting of having caused Yūsuf's imprisonment.
- (45) fol. 81 b. Zulaykhā with her nurse secretly visiting Yūsuf in prison.
- (46) fol. 83 b. Zulaykhā looking at the prison from her palace roof.
- (47) fol. 85 b. The interpretation by Yūsuf, in prison, of the dreams of the King's two servants.
- (48) fol. 87. The King having dreamed two dreams, being told of Yūsuf's skill in interpretation.
- (49) fol. 88 b. Yūsuf interpreting the King's dreams.
- (50) fol. 90. Zulaykhā, widowed, meditating on her love.
- (51) fol. 91 b. Zulaykhā, in poverty, having lost her beauty and her sight, sitting beside her reed hut so as to hear Yūsuf, now Governor of Egypt, passing by.
- (52) fol. 93. Zulaykhā holding the bridle of Yūsuf's horse.
- (53) fol. 95. Zulaykhā's youth restored through Yūsuf's prayers.
- (54) fol. 97. The marriage of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.
- (55) fol. 98 b. Yūsuf's dream of his parents.
- (56) fol. 100 b. Zulaykhā mourning at Yūsuf's tomb.
- (57) fol. 102. A separate illustration of a potentate seated, with a standing attendant. The subject of the portrait bears some resemblance to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19).

